HYPNOTISM

AND THE

DOCTORS.

(I.)

MESMER.

De PUYSÉGUR.

BY

RICHARD HARTE.

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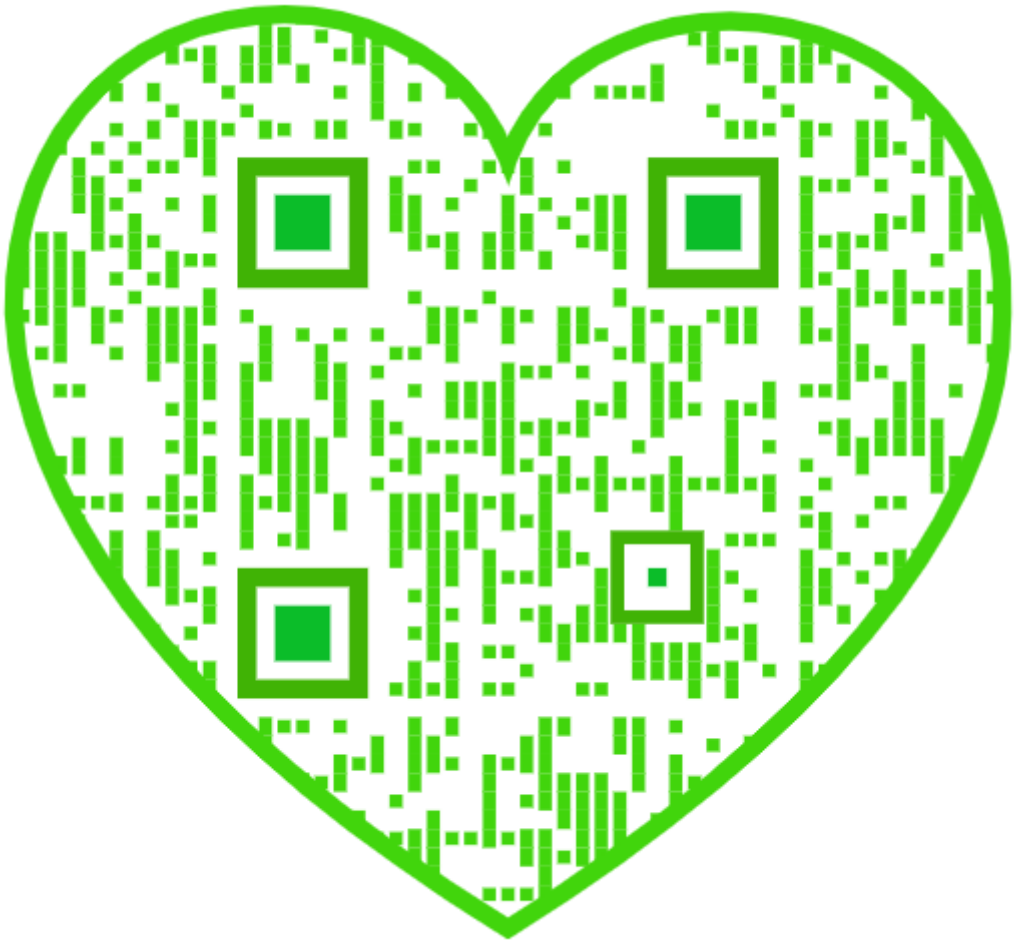

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HYPNOTISM AND THE DOCTORS.

I.

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.

MESMER:

His Theory of Disease. His Method of Cure.
His Fight with the Faculty.

De PUYSÉGUR:

Somnambulism. New Theories and Methods.

By RICHARD HARTE.

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Hyphen, Biography

DESMER, Marie Antoine [1754-1815]
CHATELET, Armand Marie Jacques de,
Marquis de Puysieux
et Cirey
BRAID,
LA FONTAINE,
DUPUYTREN,

(2) PQQ

James Twaddy.

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PREFACE.

The history of the treatment which Hypnotism has received at the hands of the doctors is a long story of ignorance, prejudice, cruelty, stupidity, and conceit on their part—an intensely sad history to anyone who believes, as I do, that no other profession has a function so important to the community as the medical. Dr. R. Osgood Mason, writing about Hypnotism, says: "Here is the work of the physician —to implant higher ideals in the mind of the patient —help him to see them, and then to rise towards them." This view of the function of the physician seems strange to us because we think of the doctor only as prescribing remedies for our personal ills; and, at first sight, Dr. Mason seems to be confounding the Physician with the Educator and the Moralist; but he is speaking of the doctor in his collective rather than in his individual capacity—as physician to the nation, as it were—and what he says is then quite true. What the family doctor is to the household, the medical Faculty should be to the nation; but the family obeys the doctor, whereas the nation treats the advice of the Faculty with indifference, even with contempt. This is a pretty good proof that, for some reason or another, the medical profession has not got the confidence of the nation.

Imagine for a moment a doctor called in to advise and treat an ailing family, most of the members of which he found to be in a chronic state of anxiety, overworked and underfed, insufficiently

warmed, scantily clothed, crowded together without proper ventilation; adulterated food in the larder, poisonous drinks in the cellar; a pigsty next to the kitchen, a cesspool under the stairs; and the children never allowed out in the fresh air. Every honest doctor in the land would say to the head of that household: "The sickness in your family comes from a number of causes which now make it absolutely impossible for them to be healthy, and which it is therefore imperative to remove. I have no pills that will cure overwork, no potions that will remedy the want of food, or of fresh air, or of cleanliness in person and surroundings. I could blister you, but that would not remove your pigsty or your cesspool; I could bleed you, but that would not make your adulterated foods and poisonous drinks wholesome; I could poultice you, but that would not take away your worry. It is true that I could make you up doses, and could tell you that they will cure the various complaints of your family, well knowing all the time that they would not; if I did so, however, I would be a charlatan who is robbing and deceiving you."

Is there a father of a family in England who would not thereupon set to work to remove the causes of sickness in his family, if by any possibility he could do so? And why would he make haste to follow the doctor's advice? Evidently because he believed in the doctor's competence and disinterestedness. Now the Faculty, the medical profession collectively, says pretty much the same thing about the health of the nation that the family doctor says about the health of the ailing family. All the great medical authorities have told us, over and over again, that the health of the nation can be secured

only by establishing healthy conditions of life, and that medicines can never take the place of nourishing and plentiful food, of wholesome drinks, of pure air, of warmth, of cleanliness in person and surroundings, and of peace of mind. But there is this great difference between the two cases: the compelling power which the words of the family doctor possess is wanting when the Faculty speaks; and the community, therefore, does not hasten to act upon the advice which the Faculty gives it. It is as if the Faculty had not spoken at all. The medical profession as a unit is allowed no part in the councils of the nation, is given no voice in the national expenditure, although the health of the community is universally allowed to be the most important of all considerations. There is only one possible explanation for this extraordinary remissness and indifference, namely, that the nation does not believe either in the competence or in the disinterestedness of the medical profession. And so the doctors, finding that they have got no influence collectively with the nation, very naturally confine themselves to the personal work of prescribing for individual patients, ignoring their corporate duties and responsibilities as guardians of the health of the community, and discreetly holding their tongues about the characteristics of the Charlatan.

The mistake which Hypnotists of every School have made, from Mesmer down, is that of supposing that the doctors recognise their responsibilities towards the public, and enjoy its confidence. Mesmer said that the physician only could worthily practice magnetism, because physicians are "the depositaries of the confidence of the public in regard

to everything which concerns the preservation of health, and the happiness of man." Are they indeed! Were that the case, it is certain that the doctors would be ever on the look out for more knowledge, and would gladly listen to anyone who brought a new and powerful healing medium to their notice; and it is precisely because they do not perceive that it is their duty to do this, that the Faculty has lost the confidence of the public, and their words of wisdom are treated with contempt by the rulers of the nation. Instead of welcoming the discoveries of Mesmer, of De Puységur, of Braid, of Liébeault, studying their theories, verifying their facts, and testing the efficacy of their methods and processes, what the doctors have always done is to attack with fury and malignity everyone who has the audacity to assert that what they do not already know is worth knowing, or that there is any need for them to learn more than their books contain, or than they can teach each other. It was, and still is, in vain that those who have studied and practised Hypnotism assure the Faculty that (to use the words of Dr. Cocke), "Hypnotism is a remedial agent, so mysterious and overwhelming in its effects that it is likely to impress too profoundly the invalid who is seeking relief. It is more wonderful than surgery, more subtle in its influence than drugs, and permeates every part of the psychic life of the patient." The only reply of the doctors to those who speak like that has always been to redouble their cries of "Charlatan," and to reiterate their appeals to the secular power to rid them of their enemies. And when anyone impressively declares, as Dr. Mason does, that "it

should be known far and wide—in the profession and out of it — that there is a subjective, a psychic element in the practice of the healing art, and it is in that direction rather than in the multitude of drugs that the therapeutics of the future is to be enriched," they shut their eyes and put their hands to their ears, for a theory of disease which recognises a psychic element in man, is a *primâ facie* absurdity in the opinion of a profession whose theories and practices are based on a whole-hearted, and now happily antiquated, materialism.

Now, until the medical profession understands its duties to the nation, and feels its responsibilities, it will never raise its voice to demand that the general causes of disease be removed; nor would those in authority pay the smallest attention to that demand on its part, so long as the public believes neither in the competence nor the disinterestedness of the Faculty. It is therefore a most important question — truly the most important of all great national questions—how the medical profession, the doctors collectively and corporately, are to gain the confidence and respect of the people, so that its demands on behalf of the good health of the community may prevail in the councils of the nation. Let us, therefore, consider what it is that deprives the doctors at present of the authority they ought to have with the public, and with the rulers of the nation. The reasons why the public has lost confidence in the Faculty may be stated briefly to be these: —

1.—Within the last quarter of a century, the employment of the microscope in the study of

diseased tissues has upset the hitherto accepted medical theories of all kinds, and at present chaos reigns in Medicine; and the doctors are once more all at sea in regard to the origin and nature of disease. The consequence is a carnival of experiments on their part, with new drugs and new practices. Everybody is aware of this fact.

2.—The adoption of an exaggerated form of the germ theory of disease by the large majority of the doctors — that every disease, even insanity, is the work of the omnipresent and omnipotent "microbe"— has upset all previous theories of disease, and stultifies the teaching of our present medical schools and textbooks; insomuch that on the one hand the doctors profess to know how diseases should be treated, on the other hand they prove themselves to be all in the dark about their origin and nature. Everyone knows this also.

3.—One of the consequences of the spread of education has been to open the eyes of the public to the fact that their interests and those of the medical profession are at present opposite and irreconcilable. It is to the interest of the public that there shall be as little sickness as possible; it is to the interest of the doctors that there shall be as much sickness as the people will put up with. When patients are many, doctors grow fat; when they are few, or get well too quickly, the doctors are famished. Now the raw material for the manufacture of doctors is unlimited, for almost any callow youth will do for a medical student; and the Medical Schools can be multiplied indefinitely, and even now have a working capacity that would enable them soon to flood the

country with medical men, were not the out-put restricted. The supply of doctors is limited only by the demand, and the demand, of course, depends upon the prevalence of disease. In the language of Malthus, the natural check upon the increase of doctors is "famine;" but, to save one's self from starvation, the imperative law of self-preservation ordains that if you cannot find enough of food growing wild, you must cultivate it. The adoption of hygienic practices has improved the health, and increased the longevity of the people; and it is known to everyone that many doctors now, with the approbation of the whole profession, are openly giving their undivided attention to the discovery and cultivation of the germs of all diseases, for the express purpose of sowing these germs, when properly matured, in the blood of healthy men, women and children—a practice which they facetiously call "preventive medicine."

4.—The extremely unpleasant fact is now pretty generally recognised that the medical profession is at present practically irresponsible. This comes partly from the ignorance of the public of the technicalities of medical "science," and from the belief that the doctors really understand what they are doing; partly from the fact that the doctor is not an artist who is judged by his success, but a workman who acts mechanically, being expected to treat disease according to the routine methods he finds described in his books, or learns in his school, which relieves him from personal responsibility; partly because a doctor's "professional conscience" tends to dominate all other conscientious feeling; partly because the freemasonry and *esprit de*

corps that exists among doctors cause them to back each other up through thick and thin. The doctor can practically do no wrong; but he may make blunders that cost lives, and which would be manslaughter if a layman were guilty of them. For a doctor, such blunders count as accidents; for, when they happen to be found out, he has but to call upon his professional brethren to defend him, and they cheerfully testify that they might have made the same mistake themselves, and this saves the credit of the profession; for if two or three doctors would have made the same mistake, what layman would dare to say that anything better could have been done?

5.—It is now well known that the part of the doctor's education which is of most value, is that which comes to him through experience in the practice of his profession. Medicine is an empirical or experimental science, and the doctors are always on the look out now for new and powerful specifics, so as to get ahead of the patent-medicine man, who has requisitioned most of the time-honoured and comparatively harmless drugs. The doctors make no secret of it that if one medicine does no good, they try another, and most of their medicines are deadly poisons; when the doctor is not mechanically following a now out-of-date routine, he is continually experimenting on his patients, and from those experiments he learns. But, as most maladies tend to get well of their own accord, the recovery of a patient after some particular medicine has been exhibited is not a conclusive experiment for a doctor who is careful and logical; the doctors, in fact, learn what medicines to use, chiefly by finding out which to avoid. For an

experiment to be satisfactory, the medical man should see the effect on the organs of the poisonous substance he administers, and this he can do only at a post-mortem. In private practice a post-mortem, when it is permitted, is an expensive lesson; but in the hospitals, the death of a patient is no pecuniary loss to the doctor, and the medical man who attends a case can generally make a post-mortem when death occurs. Both rich and poor are now aware that hospitals have two utilities: as Medical Schools—almost as much for the doctor as for the medical student—and as places for the treatment of the diseases of the poor; and that there is no certainty that the latter is always the dominant consideration. So, on the one hand, we have the well-known dread of the hospital on the part of the poor, and on the other hand the conspicuous backwardness on the part of the rich in making "voluntary contributions" to those institutions.

6.—The defence of vivisection by the Faculty, and its extensive practice, have considerably detracted from the estimation in which an amiable tradition declares that the physician should be held. The outcry against that practice was at first regarded by the public as a weakness on the part of a few sentimentalists, but it is now seen that the defence and practice of vivisection are unmistakable evidence of a disposition which, in a medical man, is undoubtedly dangerous to the public. Some of the most distinguished members of the medical profession have declared that vivisection is useless, and that nothing of any importance has been brought to light by the large amount of torture which has been, and is being daily inflicted by vivisecting doctors. As for the

administration of chloroform to the animals, that is now pretty well known to be in most cases merely a hypocritical farce, intended to humour and hoodwink the public, and square the authorities who issue licenses to vivisect. There is for many people a peculiar pleasure in the infliction of pain and death; there were always numbers of applicants for the office of torturer, just as there are at present for the place of hangman. It is now something more than suspected that the desire to vivisect does not really come from any love of science; but that it merely demonstrates the existence of this morbid delight in inflicting pain and death—a mental infirmity, which, when habitually gratified, tends to develop into a special form of insanity, and which, upon whatever plea it is allowed, inevitably lowers the moral nature. To permit our doctors to gratify this semi-insane desire with impunity, is not only to allow them to deteriorate morally in a way that is dangerous to ourselves, but also to induce a class of men to enter the medical profession who are signally wanting in the kindness of heart and sympathy for suffering which always should, and very often does, characterise the physician.

7.—The growing habit of looking at everything from a business point of view is causing a great many people to question very seriously the habit of the doctors of requiring payment for services which they themselves acknowledge to be, or to have been, useless, and which may have been actually detrimental. In no other profession or trade, except perhaps in the Law, would such a thing be considered honest or honourable. This system, in a profession in which originality is discouraged, and independence a disadvantage, is

naturally conducive to carelessness, and favourable to incapacity; for under it, whatever happens, the doctor gets his money. Moreover, once you call in a doctor he considers that he has an exclusive right to continue his services to you until you either get well or die; and of course it is to his interest that you should not do either for as long a period as possible. If a doctor's payment were according to results, his interest and the interest of his patient would coincide.

8.—Again; no business man would be satisfied with a testimonial ten or twenty years old; he would want to know what the recipient has been doing ever since. There is no way of knowing what a doctor has done during all the years that he has been in practice since his diploma was issued, for his case-book contains the only record of his work, and he is careful to keep that to himself. If the well-being of the community were an important consideration with the Faculty, a doctor's diploma would be renewable at least once a year, and it would be endorsed with the record of his last year's work. This would be of great advantage to the public, for then any one who wished it would be able to find out the proportion of successes to failures in the case of a medical man whom he proposed to employ; and he would thus be able to calculate his chances of survival if he put himself in that doctor's hands. It is doubtful whether the Faculty at present recognises any right of choice in regard to a physician, and practically a person has very little choice indeed. One doctor is apparently supposed to be as useful to the public as another—doctors being, as it were, machine-made—for the medical man may sell his practice to any other registered practitioner

who chooses to buy it, and the patients go with the "pitch" and determine the value of the purchase, just as do the number of head of stock on a farm that changes hands. Common sense says that a copy of every doctor's diploma, with its endorsements, should be deposited where the patient or his agent could have access to it at any time. There should be a maximum of kills allowed, to exceed which would entail the withdrawal of the doctor's license. This system may appear to some people to be a little odd; but if it does so, it is only because we are accustomed to take an unbusinesslike, or even a positively "Gilbertian" view of our relation to the doctor. To be registered in this way would be of immense advantage to the doctor who could cure; but the large majority of the profession would no doubt be against it, which shows very clearly that diplomas ought to be issued by the Government in the interests of the public; not issued by the doctors to each other in the interests of themselves. Such a system, in fact, is almost an invitation to incompetence and false pretence.

9.—Another thing which has lessened the faith of the public in the doctors is that they are obliged to have recourse to legislation to obtain patients. A moment's thought shows that this is a sure and certain sign of incompetence. The penal enactments that act as crutches for the Faculty are of two kinds; one kind makes it punishable to heal or cure without a license from some body of examiners recognised by the Faculty; the other kind makes it obligatory on parents and guardians to call in a "licensed practitioner" in case of sickness, or face a charge of manslaughter; and to submit to the

doctor's manipulations, however disgusting and repellant they may be. The most conspicuous instance of compulsion is, of course, vaccination, which is only partially compulsory as yet, but which the doctors hope soon to make completely so. Nothing else, perhaps, shows the Faculty in so bad a light. The opinion of the profession itself is divided about the efficacy of vaccination to prevent small-pox, but no division of opinion is possible about the ill effects which the injection of diseased matter into healthy blood may have later on. The most learned physician knows no more about this effect than the most ignorant layman, for until experience teaches us, we have only conjecture to go upon as to the after-effects of vaccination; and everyone can guess equally well what may be the evil consequences to future generations of so insanitary, disgusting, and penny wise—pound foolish, an operation. Now, if there is one thing which everyone knows, it is that all disease is lowering to vitality; and that, although some diseases seldom attack a person twice, the lowered vitality of anyone who has had a disease once, leaves him all the less able to resist the attacks of other diseases. Within the last twenty years many of the worst diseases that afflict humanity have become more and more common — cancer, tuberculosis, appendicitis, enteric fever, influenza, etc., and every kind of nervous disease, including insanity — and there is no other way of accounting for this terrible fact than a general lowering of vitality, such as might be expected to follow the corruption of the national blood by the injection into the veins of healthy people of

diseased matter from a sick beast, the result of which operation is to communicate that sick beast's disease. Now, there is probably not a medical man in the whole country that is not perfectly aware of all this; but, if there be no health for the public in vaccination, there is money in it for the doctors. The recent orgie of vaccination put some millions of money into the pockets of the doctors, and very naturally they object to anyone examining the mouth of their "gift-horse." In order to get the public to submit to vaccination, and to induce the Legislature to make it obligatory, the doctors had recourse to means which have seemingly already lowered them considerably in the eyes of all thinking people. They got up a tremendous scare about a small-pox epidemic, a scare which has been proved to have been without foundation, or that very scare would certainly have brought an epidemic on, for (as the doctors well know) nothing conduces so much to create and spread an epidemic as a panic fear of it.

10.—But even those who believe in vaccination have to allow that a person may have too much of a good thing; and at present it has become evident that vaccination is only the thin edge of a very big wedge that the doctors are trying to drive into us, for it is merely the first of a whole series of inoculations which the medical man is preparing to force upon the public, every one of which can be justified by the same arguments that are used in the case of vaccination, and every one of which will bring more millions into the pockets of the hungry doctors. The grand work of the physician at present is the cultivation of disease germs of every kind

suitable for inoculation, and it is no exaggeration to say that if the public does not wake up, and put a stop to the mad gallop of the doctors who now ride rough-shod over us, in a few years we will have compulsory inoculation for a whole host of different diseases; and the world will then be a Paradise for the medical man, and a Hades for the devatalised, blood-corrupted, ailing creatures, who will be the game in the happy hunting ground of the doctors—their patients from the cradle to the grave.

11.—It is notorious that a number of destructive habits have been acquired by thousands of unfortunate invalids who have followed their doctor's advice. It is the doctors who have taught us sub-cutaneous injection. The morphine habit, the opium habit, the cocaine and other similar "habits," can be traced to the instigation of the doctor in almost every instance, and the alcohol habit in very many instances. If there be any such thing as "corruption of the mind," surely to teach practises that procure a pleasant sensation, or a temporary relief from pain, but which leave a human being a mental and physical wreck, is the worst kind of corrupting; and yet, the doctor does this every day, with a light heart, and with perfect impunity. If anyone blames him, he has only to bring other doctors to say that the injections were "indicated," and so those practises are supposed to be all right, and he finds himself exonerated by the mystified public — but only apparently so, for he is all the time piling up evidence against himself which he will find it extremely hard to rebut when called upon by-and-bye by public opinion to do so.

All these considerations prove that the medical profession is at present a cross between a huge Trade Union and a Trust. It is a Trade Union in regard to the tyranny it exercises over its own members, dictating to them how, as medical men, they shall think, speak, and act; crushing out of them originality and independence, and taking from them not only their individual responsibility for the health of their patients, but their sense of duty towards the public; and it is a Trade Union in its persecution and ill-treatment of those who venture to practice medicine without its leave, or by any other system than that which it prescribes—actual proved ability to cure or heal not being counted either in the case of those who have, or in the case of those who have not, a diploma. It is a Trust in two senses: as requiring the public to take it on trust, and as endeavouring to secure a monopoly. It is a Trust in the former sense, because it has recourse to methods little short of "the confidence trick," since it induces the public to give into its keeping without security its most valuable possession—its health. It is a Trust in the latter sense because it obliges the public to deal with it; and because it seeks to make the most profit in money and in reputation with the least expenditure of capital in knowledge and responsibility; and because it makes the interest of the profession its ruling motive, irrespective of responsibility to the nation. Here, for instance, is one little example: if a medical education means anything, it means that there is not a doctor in the land who does not know that to make a young woman remain on her feet all day

is inevitably to ruin her health, and to cause her to be the mother of sickly, and perhaps deformed children; but, when our sapient and humane legislators ridiculed and threw out a Bill to oblige shopkeepers to provide seats for their shop-women, did the Faculty raise a voice in support of that measure? No indeed! The doctors have enough to do to mind their own business of getting a living, without trespassing on the rights of the shopkeepers to ruin the health of young women; its business is to "fight disease"; and, after all, the more disease there is to fight, the better for the medical profession!

Then, must it be supposed that the doctors are all mercenary wretches, without heart or conscience? On the contrary; there is no profession the members of which, on the whole, possess half the personal courage, kindness of heart, and conscientiousness that are as a rule exhibited by the doctors, and are expected from them as a matter of course. It is, in fact, surprising that the possession of an awe-inspiring diploma, and the blind confidence which their patients have in them, do not hallucinate the doctors even more completely as to the worth of their knowledge and the value of their services. It is the system that is at fault, not, as a rule, the men. Irresponsibility and temptation soon corrupt the wisest and best. If the doctor is ignorant, conceited and prejudiced, it is pretty sure that an angel from heaven, were he to become "a fully qualified medical man," would be hardly less so; and this is not always remembered by those who are now in revolt against official medical science; and these are far more numerous than the doctors themselves suspect, for the same thing happens in regard to the medical man as to

the clergy—nobody likes to express his opinion about them very openly in their presence, for fear of giving personal offence. Indeed, I venture to assert that I have not said a single word about the shortcomings of the doctors that would not now be endorsed by thousands upon thousands, and which is not floating sub-consciously in the minds of millions, becoming clearer to them every day. But these medical dissenters also see that it is the people themselves that are chiefly to blame; for the doctors always wait for and obey the "mandate" of the public—although the Faculty has generally managed to dictate that mandate itself, as it is now dictating the mandate to innoculate with disease germs. These dissenters think that the mandate to the doctors should be to secure the national health. This the doctors could not do now, even were they to undertake it; for although the health of the people is allowed to be the greatest of all interests, the medical profession, as I have said, is not sufficiently respected for its recommendations to have the force of a "doctor's order," as they must have to move either the legislature or the people. A reform is needed in the medical profession, and it must necessarily come from the outside; and that reform may be summed up by saying that the *Faculty must be made responsible.* If Medical Science cannot guarantee that its methods and processes will cure, it should at least be able to warrant that they will not kill; if the doctors are obliged to confess that their present knowledge is useless, and their former practice unreliable, as they now practically do by throwing over their old theories of disease in favour of the "cultivated" bacillus, they should be constrained to employ methods and processes which in

thousands of cases have proved to be harmless and efficacious, and therefore infinitely superior to their own. If the Faculty is powerless to secure the health of the nation, either because it does not know how, or has not sufficient authority to enforce even simple hygienic measures, it should be consigned to the scrap heap as quickly as possible. But it is not the medical profession only that needs to be awakened to a sense of its responsibilities and duties. There are few who do not feel that to neglect to take care of its sick is a standing disgrace to the nation, and that to throw the blame on "the ratepayer," as is usually done, is merely to add to the disgrace. When millions are needed for a war "the ratepayer" is not consulted, and there is no war which it is more important to wage than the war against disease. There should be a Minister for Public Health as there is a Minister for War, responsible to the nation. As for Charity, it is practically superseded by Profit as an incentive to expenditure; and millionaires who found or endow hospitals as a fad, instead of building libraries, or racing yachts, do not relieve the nation of its responsibility for the care of its sick; and they do a very doubtful service to humanity at present. The result of the late exceptionally strong appeal to Charity for support for our half bankrupt hospitals, an appeal made in the name of the Sovereign, amounts, as it now seems, to something less than the cost of one day's war with the Boers! *The nation has a right to good health*, and the expenditure of millions to secure it would be the most profitable of all investments, for efficiency depends upon health. It is, therefore, not as a curious and amusing subject that I now desire to call the attention of the public and of

the medical men to Hypnotism, but because I believe that it affords to the people the means for procuring health of mind and body, and furnishes the doctors with an opportunity to raise themselves to the position which I think the physician ought to have in the estimation of the people and in the councils of the nation. Of one thing, however, the Faculty may at all events rest assured—Hypnotism is bound to win.

I am fully aware that there are hundreds of men who could write on the subject of Hypnotism with more ability than I can, and with more experience, for I am not a professional hypnotiser. Nevertheless, I have been acquainted with, and interested in the subject all my life. When a boy, I happen to have associated with a little knot of powerful mesmerisers (one of whom was the father of a school fellow) who were interested, with Archbishop Whately, in the Mesmeric Hospital in Dublin; and before I was seventeen, I found I could produce all the mesmeric phenomena myself with comparative ease. In 1860 I happened to be living in Geneva almost next door to M. Lafontaine, the well-known exponent of Animal Magnetism, and I became his friend and pupil; a few years later, I was in the Channel Islands when Professor Stone, the Electro-biologist, spent several weeks there, and he initiated me into the mysteries of Electro-biology. Since then I have taken advantage of every opportunity to study the theory and practice of modern Hypnotism in its various developments. I therefore do not write without some knowledge of my subject, and I think I am able to take an unprejudiced and dispassionate view of the whole matter, which I fear is rather rare. But I do not ask my

reader to take anything I say on faith. I ask him to try for himself, for I am fully persuaded that anyone who investigates experimentally, with a real desire to know, will be rewarded with the knowledge he desires. And I should very much like my reader to begin at once with an experiment which is easily tried, and may serve to awaken his interest in the subject; for it is impossible to deny that the hypnotist, to produce his effects, employs some extraordinary influence, the nature of which is still a moot question, but which, whatever it may be, is completely unknown to science —in fact, it may be said that, having no place for it, men of science do not want to hear about it at all.

This influence can very easily be shown to have the properties of an actual force, because it acts upon inanimate objects, as anyone can prove for himself. It is apparently a nervous force which by an effort of the organism can be exteriorised, or projected out of the body, and made to attract or repel matter, as directed by the will. There are several ways of demonstrating the existence and action of this force; but as it is apparently carried in a current of air, and as its effects can in that way be made very striking, the following experiment will perhaps suffice here :—

Take a ping-pong ball, and having removed the tablecloth, place the ball about six or eight inches from the edge of the table. Now take a fan (a small, straight palm-leaf fan does best), and satisfy yourself that when you direct a current of air against the ball, by making a rapid to-and-fro horizontal movement of the fan, the ball will fly from you across the table. This you will no doubt tell me is perfectly natural. What you have to do, however, is, when you replace

the ball, to bring it over to you, *against the current of air*, by making precisely the same movements with the fan—movements which cause a current of air that you have satisfied yourself experimentally has its natural effect of causing the ball to go *from* you across the table. This cannot be done by sleight of hand; and scooping the air towards you is not according to the conditions of the experiment, which are that *the ball shall come to you when you fan it away from you* (if the bull be excused). Now, having placed the ball in position, and taken the fan in hand, remain quiet during a minute, mentally determining that the ball *shall* come towards you when you fan it. Then begin to fan the ball, picturing it as rolling towards you; fan it gently at first, increasing in strength as you see that the ball will stand it; it helps some people to *tell* the ball in a commanding voice to *come*. After a few trials, you will notice that the ball hesitates, stays for a moment in its place, and then goes off slowly; or it may remain quite still until you have increased the strength of the current of air too much, when it will make a dash away, as if suddenly released. By gradually increasing the strength of your fanning, as you acquire control over the ball, you will soon be able to *commence* by fanning strongly, and will make the ball roll towards you, and fall off the table at your feet, when you are producing as strong a current of air in the opposite direction as you can. Now, it may happen that some clever person to whom you show this "phenomenon" will suspect that, after all, it may be the habit of ping-pong balls to come up against a strong current of air, and he will say to you, "Now make it go away"; you will then perhaps find that you

cannot make it go away; that whenever you fan it, it *will* come to you. The fact is that some relation of polarity has been set up between you and the ball, which has to be terminated before the ball will again act in a natural manner, and this requires that you again concentrate your thoughts for a minute, and *will* that the ball shall go from you when you fan it. I have never met with anyone who could not succeed in this experiment. Some people can do it the first time they try, others only after considerable practice. It seems to depend partly on confidence, partly upon finding the right attitude of mind. Any light object that you can fan away from you, you can in like manner cause to come to you, but a ping-pong ball shows the effect in a striking manner. When you have mastered the ping-pong ball, you will probably be able to make a little gauze streamer flutter towards you by fanning it strongly away.

This experiment only shows the existence of a force apparently emanating from the nervous ganglia, and passing out by the hands, which can be directed by the will, carried in a current of air, and caused to attract or repel; it by no means measures the power, or demonstrates the attributes of that force. When, not so very long ago, it was desired to prove to the sceptical that such a thing as electricity existed, it was customary to rub a piece of amber and attract little bits of paper with it; and the experiment I have just described bears the same relation to the still unknown hypnotic force, that the attracting of little bits of paper with an electrically excited piece of amber bears to the tremendous force that we know as electricity.

I should mention that, by permission of the Editor of *Light*, I have made use in the following work of portions of a series of articles by me entitled "About Hypnotism" which appeared over a pseudonyme in that periodical during some months ago.

RICHARD HARTE.

LONDON,

September, 1902.

POSTSCRIPT.

I find I am in time to add the following excerpt from the London *Daily Express* of Sept. 12th, which corroborates what I have said in regard to the need of a Minister of Public Health, aud also in regard to the advisability of large public expenditure on hygienic measures.

MINISTER OF HEALTH.

"Summing up the discussion on 'Enteric in Armies' at the Congress of the Sanitary Institute, in Manchester yesterday, Sir James Crichton Browne was loudly applauded for a suggestion that such matters would never be satisfactorily dealt with until we had a Minister of Public Health with a seat in the Cabinet. . . . . If the Government could expend one million in the thorough investigation of typhoid there would be a gigantic saving to the country in any future military operations.'

"Dr. Childs, of London, who introduced the discussion, contended that the great majority of those who died from enteric in the war died as victims of the ignorance and indifference of their country. No time should be lost in considering and deciding upon the necessary reforms and putting them into practice."

Typhoid is only one of several diseases needing investigation, not in order to ascertain more minutely their symptoms and morbid appearances, but in order to discover a cure. The same issue of the *Daily Express* contains a notice of the report of the Cancer Investigation Committee of the Middlesex Hospital, from which I may extract the following:—

"Dealing with the question of the cause of cancer, Dr. Sidney Coupland writes, in an introduction to the report, that, 'in spite of the more exact knowledge of the morbid anatomy of cancer that is now possessed, the important problem of its causation remains as obscure as at the date when the Middlesex Hospital accepted Samuel Whittaker's gift—June, 1792.'

"Continuing, however, he gives some hope that a cure for the disease will one day be discovered.

"'In such investigations as can alone be carried on into the difficult and complex problems of cancerous affections,' he says, 'it may be long before any decided practical result can be obtained. But the labour will not be thrown away. Every additional fact, however small, will contribute to the better understanding of the conditions under which such diseases arise and the manner in which they spread.

"'That in due time such knowledge will be the means of directing us where to look for the means of checking and preventing cancer there can be little doubt. Such a consummation will, however, only be attained by the exercise of unwearied patience and assiduity by those engaged in the task.'"

Since 1792 a notable number of cures of Cancer by various forms of Hypnotism have been reported, and completely ignored by the Faculty. Hypnotists say that the Faculty is not looking in the right direction for a cure for cancer, and to them the above report seem to say:—

"Ever since 1792, we have been industriously looking for figs on thistles, and have not found any; but, never mind, we will continue the search with unwearied patience and assiduity until we succeed."

Sir Crichton Browne and Dr. Childs, distinguished hygienists, can hardly be asking for a Minister of Public Health with a seat in the Cabinet, and for a million of money, merely to enable the Faculty to continue indefinitely its examination of the thistle plant. In arriving at the same conclusion that I have reached in those respects — that the Public Health should be made a national question—they must, I think, have started from the same premises and followed the same line of argument, consciously, or sub-consciously, that I have done.

HYPNOTISM AND THE DOCTORS.

What is meant by "Hypnotism."

A great deal of confusion exists as to the nature of Hypnotism, its production, its utility, and the matters in which it ought to be employed; insomuch that a good many recent writers on the subject tell us that the peculiar "nervous" sleep, which Braid considered so characteristic and important a feature of the hypnotic condition as to warrant the name he gave it, is not a necessary part or parcel of Hypnotism at all. As to the utility of Hypnotism, the whole effort of most writers on the subject of late has been to confine its application to the cure of such diseases as have proved themselves intractable to all other modes of treatment, and to limit its exercise to members of the medical profession, who shall be at liberty to employ it or not as suits their own convenience; for most of the "authorities" on Hypnotism are medical men, and with very few exceptions, the doctors recognise no other legitimate use for this wonderful power over mind and body, variously known as Animal Magnetism, Mesmerism, Braidism, and Hypnotism.

The consequence is that writers on Hypnotism who are medical men always claim a monopoly of Hypnotism for the members of their own profession. They treat Hypnotism in the same way as they would treat some particularly virulent poison which they had just added to the pharmacopœia, and recognise it only as being (to use Dr. Lloyd Tuckey's words) "a branch of medical treatment, to be used by medical men with the same caution as anæsthetics and poisons in general," and they consider it as merely "a useful ally" in cases "which resist the usual treatment." But the public has a good deal more interest in Hypnotism than that, for "suggestion" is of universal application, and of incalculable power for good in almost every department of human life, and it is therefore evident that to permit Hypnotism to be monopolised by one profession, and to allow its application to be restricted to "forlorn hopes," would be the height of folly. With few exceptions, medical writers on Hypnotism make but little mention of those other uses of Hypnotism; but it is of extreme importance to the public to understand what they are before listening to the "suggestion" on the part of the doctors that Hypnotism should have no legal existence outside their own practice, and should be exercised for no other purpose than as a last resort in the case of patients whom they have otherwise "given up." Hypnotism is not as yet extensively employed in other than medical ways, but when its beneficent power is known it will undoubtedly be so employed; and therefore were the production of the hypnotic state to be made a medical monopoly, mankind would be robbed of what promises to be the most potent influence for good that the world has ever known.

The three principal ways in which Suggestion (which has been called "the active principle" of Hypnotism) affects human beings beneficially, in addition to curing disease, are: By facilitating education; by preventing crime, and reforming the criminal; and by raising the general standard of manliness — of courage, of independence of character, and of respect for self and others. Dr. Quakenbos, Dr. Osgood Mason, and other hypnotists who have experimented on children, find that the memory and the reasoning powers of the child—all, in fact, that generally goes by the name of *intelligence*—are improved in the most extraordinary manner by hypnotic suggestion. As to the reformation of evil doers of all kinds, the experiments of Dr. Voisin at the Salpêtrière, and of many others in hospitals and reformatories, have conclusively proved that in all but extremely rare cases a complete and permanent change of character can be brought about in criminals and sinners, so that they loathe their former crimes, and even their former selves. Moreover, all practitioners of Hypnotism get many of their patients from among those who are the victims of small vices and bad habits, which they wish to get rid of, but are not able to abandon by their own strength of will; and between these offenders, and the recognised criminal, the difference is only one of degree. As to the prevention of crime, experience proves that "principles" instilled into anyone while in the hypnotic condition become irrevocably fixed in his mind. While as regards criminal lunatics, and, indeed, insanity in general, it is perfectly well known now that Hypnotism has proved both the legal maxims in regard to insanity to be wrong; namely, that the belief in an absurdity

cannot exist with integrity of intelligence; and that no act can be committed without the consent of the will.*

But the greatest good which suggestion, scientifically applied, promises to do for the world consists in the formation of character. Most of the evils we suffer from come from mental weakness, or from general moral debility, for which neither theology nor ethics gives us any effectual cure; and in these cases hypnotic suggestion seems to exert a truly magical influence—changing the vacillator into a man of firm purpose, the indulger of self into a stoic, and the timid weakling into an example of moral and physical courage. Therefore, it is very evidently above all things expedient that before listening to the proposal of the doctors to give them a monopoly of Hypnotism, we, the general public, should understand what it is that we are called upon to renounce—that we should know, in fact, whether or not the larger claims made for Hypnotism are justified or justifiable. If they be, then it is absolutely certain that every day in the year the loss to mankind in hard cash by the neglect to apply Hypnotism to education, to the reformation of criminals, and to the formation of character, is at least a hundred times greater than the sum total of every other financial loss from any cause whatever; while the loss in human happiness is simply incalculable.

But what is Hypnotism? One person will tell you that it is Mesmerism under a new name; another

* The medical view of what constitutes insanity differs from the legal; and in criminal insanity judges do not seek information from medical experts, but go according to the opinions of the jurists of 200 or even 2,000 years ago. And at present there is still another conception of the nature of insanity put forward by hypnotisers, the chief merit of whose ideas on the subject, however, seems to be that they show up official ignorance about it, both medical and legal.

that it is a branch of Animal Magnetism which has for the time being eclipsed the others; another will declare that Hypnotism differs entirely from Mesmerism, since Mesmerism is founded on the idea of a "fluid" which the operator generates in himself, and throws into his subject, whereas Hypnotism declares that the subject's own sub-conscious self is the efficient cause of all the phenomena; while some people go so far as to say that the difference between the two things is that Mesmerism is charlatanism, and Hypnotism is science.

All this simply means that the name Hypnotism has at present no definite and "established" signification. Everyone at present feels himself at liberty to think and speak of Hypnotism pretty much as he likes. The subject being a new one, the investigation of which requires no apparatus, no preparation, and no special qualification, every experimenter when not a mere copyist is an explorer, and may perchance be a discoverer; and if he publishes his experiences and opinions, he at once becomes an authority, whose name is used as a weapon in controversial battles.

Among other matters about which every investigator is as yet his own authority, is the extent of the field or domain of Hypnotism, and as many of the phenomena are common property of both Hypnotists and Mesmerists, any line of demarcation between the two subjects must necessarily be an arbitrary one, and a cause of "frontier" disputes. The tendency of the professed Hypnotists is to narrow the field of Hypnotism to certain physical and mental phenomena, everything outside of that field being ignored either as being charlatanism, or mysticism, or a breach of

veracity. The tendency of the professed Mesmerists (and there are still many such) is to belittle the new and extraordinary phenomena which the Hypnotists have brought to light. Neither Mesmerists nor Hypnotists show much knowledge of each other's facts and theories, without which the "science" of each is very fragmentary.

The characteristic of the Hypnotist is that he tends to become more and more a specialist, examining a very limited field, and proceeding inductively from the small facts he there observes to some narrow theory; the characteristic of the Mesmerist is that he tends to be a theorist, proceeding deductively from broad generalisations to equally sweeping inferences. The Mesmerist, as it were, uses a telescope and speculates about cosmic forces; the Hypnotist, as it were, employs a microscope and imagines the changes in the "cortical layer" of the brain. Now everyone knows that both the microscope and telescope, as well as both the deductive and the inductive methods, are necessary to science; and that any reliable theory must necessarily be based upon the whole of the facts; but in every branch of knowledge what invariably happens is that theories are constructed as soon as a few obvious facts have been observed; and new facts, together with more accurate observation of the old ones, always necessitate a reconstruction or modification of theory, and this leads to new and more correct inferences; and in that way fact and theory become alternate steps in the ladder up which we are slowly climbing towards a knowledge of the world we live in.

But this natural process did not occur as usual in the case of the psycho-physical science, for which

we still have no comprehensive name; and the reasons why it did not do so are somewhat complicated. For almost the first time in history the practical and the speculative minds were brought into direct contact, and they could no more understand and appreciate each other than oil and water can mix. Wide cosmic speculations, such as Mesmer indulged in, had previously been confined to philosophy, and a philosopher is an impractical sort of a person who always claims to be judged by his peers. Mesmer at first appealed to men of Science, to Academies, and to Governments, to examine and test his system of curing disease, but failed to interest or move them; however, being of a practical as well as of a philosophical and scientific turn, he then appealed to the practical man, begging him to test his theory for himself, and pronounce upon it by reason of the evidence he presented; * and the practical man was utterly incompetent to do so, and resented the imposition of the task. But since Mesmer's time the scientific neck has grown a little less stiff; and what with wireless telegraphy, "X" rays, photography in the dark, and other wonders, the practical man has become ready to believe many things which but a few decades ago he would have scouted as "impossible;" and instead of resenting an appeal to his judgment, he now feels rather flattered by it, and is even inclined to expect too much in the way of new wonders, and to be too ready to accept them as true.

Happily, however, Mesmerists and Hypnotists now show some disposition to try to understand each other,

* In his "Précis Historique" he says: "The savants of all nations and I myself have a common judge in the public of all nations."

and if not exactly to coalesce, at all events to bring their theories under a larger generalisation. Nominally they are still distinct, but as some of the most accredited experimenters and authorities on Hypnotism openly use acknowledged mesmeric methods, and include under "Hypnotism" the characteristically mesmeric results they thus obtain, the two "sciences" may be considered to be practically one. Dr. Albert Moll, the author of the very valuable treatise on Hypnotism which forms one of the "Contemporary Scientific Series," and a high authority on Hypnotism, includes among his experimental ways of producing hypnosis a method which, as far as it goes, is nothing more nor less than pure Mesmerism. Moreover, he very pointedly says that "Hypnotism is not the name of the state itself, but of the whole science which deals with the phenomena of this state." That Moll himself does not include among "the phenomena of this state" what are known as "the higher phenomena of Mesmerism," seems to be because he does not carry out the mesmeric process as fully as the Mesmerists, or even as fully as some other Hypnotists do; but what he does, and what he says, tend to obliterate the old line of demarcation as much as if he himself went further in the direction of the old Mesmerism.

Now, it may be asked what right have the Hypnotists to annex Mesmerism in that cool way? Have not the Mesmerists a better right, the right of priority, to swallow up Hypnotism? It is not a question of abstract right, however, but of necessity; it seems inevitable that the name should be "Hypnotism," not "Mesmerism," because many authors already use Hypnotism as an inclusive name, and because the

Hypnotists immensely outnumber the Mesmerists, and therefore their will in the matter must be done. The name of "Animal Magnetism" is an impossible one now, for not only is the "fluid" theory repudiated by the Hypnotists, and by some operators who produced the phenomena of Mesmerism under various other names and theories, but it is known that Mesmer himself held a somewhat different view of the nature of the "Magnetism" which he attributed to human beings, from that adopted by his disciples, the "animal magnetisers." The name Mesmerism now denotes even less than the name "Braidism," which was at first given to Hypnotism, because both the theories and the practices of our modern Mesmerisers have differentiated quite as much from those of Mesmer as the theories and practices of our present Hypnotisers have differentiated from those of Braid. The chief objection to the name "Mesmerism" is that it connotes more honour to Mesmer as a discoverer than even his warmest admirers now recognise that he deserves. But the tendency of all names given to a subject before its nature and scope are fully understood is to become less and less appropriate as the field of that subject extends, until at last the name becomes equivalent merely to an arbitrary sign for a large class of ideas or phenomena; and the name "Hypnotism" has almost reached that stage, for it now covers a much wider field than is implied in its derivation (from *hupnos*, sleep). It is undisputed that the mesmeric phenomena belong to the same group or family as the hypnotic, and there does not seem to be any valid reason why they should not be included under the same general name, or why

Hypnotism should not be that name until a more appropriate one is proposed.

The importance of the name we use for the science and art of producing these psycho-physical effects may not seem at first sight of much importance, but experience proves that not only in this matter, but in every other, most people are apt to be greatly influenced, and often sadly misled, by names—in the language of Hypnotism, names are powerful "suggestives"—in this case, suggestive of continued ill-will and antagonism, and for that reason, under Hypnotism must be included not only Mesmerism, Animal Magnetism, and "Braidism" (a very different thing from the Hypnotism of to-day), but also Statuvolism, Psychodunamy, Pathetism, and Neurology, all of which are peculiar forms of "Mesmerism," as well as Electro-biology, another of the "poor relations" of Hypnotism.

Mesmer's Theory.

The Hypnotism of to-day evolved out of the Magnetism of Mesmer, and we may regard it either as the last step in a continuous development, or as the descendant in the fourth generation from the founder of the family. In theory, in method, and in result, Mesmer's successors, the "great magnetisers," differed from Mesmer himself. Braid and his school differed quite as much from "the great magnetisers" as those did from Mesmer; and our present "suggestionists" in their turn differ very materially from Braid and his disciples. We may look upon Mesmer as the first occupier of an estate, a small part of which he cleared for cultivation, and his heirs have successively developed other parts of the estate, each allowing the parts

formerly cultivated to go to waste, under the impression that they were not worthy of attention. To estimate the value of the estate, we must examine all its parts; to judge of modern Hypnotism, we must know its heredity—its "family history."

Now Mesmer's life was one long battle with official science for the recognition of his "discovery." *What was that "discovery"?* His detractors speak of him as selling a "secret," because he charged a fee for practical instructions, which he said were necessary for the proper comprehension of his system; which, in turn, was necessary in order to avoid accidents;* and it is true that he did not publish

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* In his "Memoire" Mesmer says:—"Since my method of treating and observing disease came into practice in different parts of France, several persons, whether from indiscreet zeal, or from a vanity which is out of place, have, without any regard for the reserves and precautions which I judged necessary, given a premature publicity to the effects, and above all, to the explanation of this crisis sleep: I know that abuses have resulted from this, and I see with pain old-time prejudices coming back."

Count Albert de Rochas in his recent work, "Les Frontières de la Science," quotes the following oath of agreement which Mesmer imposed upon his pupils:—

"Convinced of the existence of an uncreated principle, God, from whom man, endowed with an immortal soul, holds the power to act on his fellow-man by virtue of laws instituted by that all-powerful Being, I promise and engage myself upon my word of honour never to make use of the power or of the means to exercise Animal Magnetism which are about to be confided to me except for the purpose of being useful and of helping suffering humanity: putting completely aside all vanity and vain curiosity, I promise to be influenced only by the wish to do good to the person who accords me his confidence, and to be for ever faithful to the obligation of secrecy imposed on me, and united in heart and will to the benevolent Society which receives me into its body."

It seems to have been Mesmer's first idea to establish a great secret society for benefitting humanity therapeutically, like that which Loyala instituted for what he believed to be man's spiritual good.

any description of his process which would have saved the necessity of taking personal lessons from himself.* Moreover, he seems to have pledged his pupils not to set themselves up as teachers of his theory, although they were free to use his methods: but that was only the exercise of a kind of a patent right then recognised as legitimate. He made no mystery of his "discovery," however, and his methods were a very "open secret," for he furnished his hundreds of pupils with written instructions, in the shape of a catechism.† To appreciate what Mesmer called his discovery, it must be remembered that he was imbued with the philosophical idea that the heavenly bodies act and re-act on each other, and on human beings, through the instrumentality of a subtle and all-pervading "medium."‡ Mesmer

* Tardy de Montravel attributed to Mesmer a power of self-induction, which may have been one of the things that needed personal instruction to be given to his pupils, for it seems like one of those powers that are said, in all ages, to be awakened by "the master" in the "disciple." He says:

"In order that a man may magnetise another with benefit, he must have a means of augmenting in himself, not only the intensity of the universal fluid, but the strength and speed of the current. M. Mesmer has discovered that means. By his own action anyone can increase in himself the intensity of the universal fluid in a few moments, and by a very simple process accelerate the natural current that carries the fluid from his head to his extremities: he can, in a word, magnetise himself, as he would magnetise a bar of iron. He can then act on another as a magnet would act on a non-magnetised piece of iron. He then influences all around him. He can communicate to the sick man his superabundance."

† Mesmer's "secret" must not be confounded with his "discovery." The "secret" was his theory, by which he explained his "discovery." Deleuze says: "Mesmer's 'secret' was his theory. He gave his pupils the right to teach his processes to others. The discovery of somnambulism put an end to the disputes between Mesmer and his pupils about the right to teach his theory."

‡ Tardy de Montravel thought that the "medium" or fluid was an "elementary fire," whose essential property is movement. The essential property of matter he believed to be repose, indifference, aptitude to receive forms. He refers to Genesis, which he thought

became an M.D. in 1766. In his inaugural address he maintained that the sun, moon, and fixed stars affect each other and cause a tide in the atmosphere, as well as in the ocean; and affect in a similar manner all organised bodies, through the medium of a subtle and mobile fluid which he conceived to pervade the universe, and to associate all things together in mutual intercourse and harmony. Mesmer's theory according to Wolfart, who was sent by the King of Prussia to learn about Animal Magnetism, was:—

"All things in Nature possess a particular power, which manifests itself by special actions upon other bodies—viz., a physico-dynamic power acting exteriorily, without chemical union, or without being introduced into the interior of the organization. Mesmer taught that all organic bodies, animals, plants, trees, as also stones, water, &c., might be impregnated with the magnetic fluid, and that this fluid might be propagated to a considerable distance. It might be transmitted by direct contact with a body already magnetised, or by means of the hand, the look, or even the will. Like light, or electricity, it could penetrate solid and fluid bodies, and it was reflected by mirrors,* or polished surfaces, especially in the direction of the poles."

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expressed the same idea, "the spirit of God which moved on the face of the waters" being that elementary fire; when that happened, chaos ceased; but that chaos was not the chaos we have in our minds when, for example, we speak of "chaos come again," namely, a confusion of disordered and broken bits of things that once had had definite form, but rather a primitive and homogeneous condition of matter. Science was then beginning to speak of "spontaneity," which plays so large a part now in what are accepted as scientific explanations, and Tardy saw that if we give up the belief in the immediate influence or interference of God in the world, we must have some other source of "spontaneity," and this he thought he had found in the "elementary fire, the essential property of which is movement"—these were substantially Mesmer's ideas. (Tardy de Montravel was a pupil of De Puységur, and a great magnetiser. He was a captain in the Artillery, and for four years practised very successfully at Vallance. He was not only a good operator, but also a scientific observer and a brilliant writer).

* A somnambule of Tardy de Montravel's was one day looking at herself in a large mirror, and seemed to enjoy doing so, when suddenly she went into convulsions; when brought to, she explained that the mirror had sent back her own fluid to her, which had over-charged her head.

But Mesmer, like many of the philosophers in the centuries immediately preceding his, believed this universal ether to be not only the vehicle for the manifestation of the physical forces, but also the means which Nature employs to carry out her intentions and purposes. It must be remembered that Mesmer wished to obtain recognition for certain causes of disease not recognised by the faculty either in his time or in ours, as well as to introduce his system of curing. *He recognised moral causes as productive of disease.* In answer to the objection that his system did not cure radically, he replied that his system alone eradicated the cause of disease, but it did not prevent a new attack if the person who was cured exposed himself again to the same cause of disease, for then it was not a relapse that occurred, but a fresh disease. After enumerating some of the physical causes of disease, liable to bring on a new attack, he says :—

"To these physical causes must be added moral causes : pride, envy, avarice, ambition, all the vile passions of the human mind, are so many causes of visible maladies. How can the effects of these continually acting causes be radically cured? Moreover Animal Magnetism cannot cure the loss of an income of a hundred thousand francs, nor relieve one of a brutal and jealous husband, nor of a faithless and nagging wife, nor of an unnatural father or mother, nor of ungrateful children, nor of unfortunate propensities, nor of disagreeable vocations." All these he reckoned among the causes of disease.

Mesmer denied that gravity or gravitation is a force, or entity, or cause. Matter, according to him, does not exert energy; the apparent attractions of the sun and planets being due to currents in the universal medium or universal "magnetic matter," to which his followers gave the name of "fluid," and which we

would now call "ether."* He also believed in a constant circulation of this medium, a medium which keeps the universe in health, and the rythmic motions of which, like great pulsations, produces tides; for he thought there are intellectual and emotional tides as material—actual "tides in the affairs of men."†

Mesmer's "Twenty-Seven Propositions" are as follows :—

I.—There exists a reciprocal influence between the heavenly bodies, the earth, and animated bodies.

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* Mesmer said that "attraction is a word devoid of sense. Attraction does not exist in Nature, it is the apparent effect of an unseen cause." He thought that the cause of what we call attractions and repulsions are currents in the "universal medium," and we speak of universal attraction alone, because we do not recognise or perceive the return current. To speak of "the attraction of gravitation" is, therefore, like speaking of the attraction of the ocean for the water in a river, and supposing that it flows because of this attraction. We say that water always tends to descend to a lower level, but according to Mesmer's theory we might say with equal truth that water always tends to ascend to a higher level, for it rises continually in the shape of vapour, in which form it is the counter current, or rather it is carried along by a return current in the "ether." Our men of science, not recognising currents and counter currents in the ether, attribute the ascending of aqueous vapour to the lesser weight that water has in that shape—the smaller attraction of the earth for it—but "the circuit" need not necessarily take the form of a circle; currents and counter currents may act in a direct manner at the same time, in which case it would seem to us that one object *attracted* a second object, while the second object *repelled* the first; and then, what now appears to us to be different intensities of attraction, would seem to be different amounts of the balance of "attraction" over "repulsion," that is to say in the proportion of effect produced on any object by the afferent and efferent currents respectively. That, at least, is how I interpret Mesmer's rather enigmatical language; and I mention it here because some people might say that he must have been ignorant of the elements of physics.

† Stahl, in his "True Medical Theory" (1701) says that there is a vital principle circulating in all beings, by which their actions are modified and governed, and which he supposes possessed, like all currents, a sort of flux and reflux, the absence of which in man produces obstructions, paralysis, epilepsy, convulsive movements and death. Mead, an English writer, said much the same thing about the same date.

II.—A fluid universally diffused, and so continuous as not to admit of any vacuum, and the subtlety of which does not allow of any comparison, and which by its nature is capable of receiving, propagating, and communicating all impulses (*impressions du mouvement*) is the vehicle (*moyen*) of that influence.

III.—That reciprocal action is governed by mechanical laws, at present unknown.

IV.—From that action there result alternative effects, which may be considered as a flux and reflux.

V.—That flux and reflux is more or less general, more or less particular, more or less composite (*composé*), according to the nature of the causes that determine it.

VI.—It is by that operation, the most universal of those that Nature presents to us, that active relations are established (*relations d'activité s'exercent*) between the heavenly bodies, the earth, and its constituent parts.

VII.—The properties of matter and of organised bodies depend upon that operation.

VIII.—The animal body experiences the alternative effects of this agent; and it is by insinuating itself into the substance of the nerves that it directly affects them.

IX.—Properties similar to those of the magnet are found in the human body; different and opposite poles can be distinguished, which can be excited, changed, destroyed, or reinforced; even the phenomenon of inclination is observed in it.

X.—The property of the animal body, which makes it susceptible to the influence of the heavenly bodies, and to the reciprocal action of those that surround it, has led me, from its analogy with the magnet, to call it Animal Magnetism.

XI.—The action and virtue of Animal Magnetism, thus characterised, can be communicated to other bodies, both animate and inanimate. Both, however, are more or less susceptible.

XII.—This action and this power (*vertu*) can be reinforced and propagated by the same bodies.

XIII.—The flow of a matter whose subtlety penetrates all bodies without losing perceptibly its activity can be observed experimentally.

XIV.—Its action takes place at a great distance, without the aid of any intermediary body.

XV.—It is augmented and reflected by mirrors (*par les glaces*) like light.

XVI.—It is communicated, propagated, and augmented by sound.

XVII.—This magnetic virtue can be accumulated, concentrated, and transported.

XVIII.—I have said that animated bodies were not equally susceptible: There are even some, though very rare, that have an opposite property, so that their mere presence destroys all the effects of this magnetism in other bodies.

XIX.—This opposite property also penetrates other bodies; it can also be communicated, propagated, accumulated, concentrated, and transported, reflected in mirrors, and propagated by sound; which makes it not a mere privation, but a positive opposing influence.

XX. -The magnet, whether natural or artificial, is, like other bodies, susceptible of Animal Magnetism, and even of the opposing virtue, without in either case its action on the iron, or needle, undergoing any alteration; which proves that the principle of Animal Magnetism differs essentially from that of mineral.

XXI.—This system will furnish new ideas about the nature of fire and light, and throw light upon the theory of attraction, of flux and reflux, of the magnet, and of electricity.

XXII.—It will show that the magnet and artificial electricity have an effect on maladies only similar to that of several other natural agents; and if some useful effects have come from their use, those effects are due to Animal Magnetism.

XXIII.—It will be recognised from the facts, according to rules which I will establish, that this principle can cure immediately all diseases of the nerves, and mediately all other diseases.

XXIV.—With its assistance the physician is enlightened as to the use of medicaments; can improve their action; and can bring on and direct beneficent crises, so as to make himself their master.

XXV.—In communicating my method, I will demonstrate, by a new theory of diseases, the universal utility of the principle I oppose to them.

XXVI —With this knowledge, the physician will judge with certainty about the origin, the nature, and the progress of diseases, even the most complicated; he will check their advance, and will succeed in curing them without ever exposing the patient to dangerous effects or unfortunate consequences, whatever be the patient's age, temperament, or sex. Even women in pregnancy and childbirth will enjoy the same advantage.

XXVII.—Finally, this doctrine will put the physician in the position to judge accurately the degree of health of each person, and to preserve him from diseases to which he might be exposed. The healing art will thus attain to the utmost perfection.

According to Caullet de Veaumorel, who collected and edited Mesmer's "Aphorisms" in 1785, Mesmer believed that all things are imbued with and energised by a "vital fluid"—stars, earth, oceans, rocks, trees, animals, &c.—this vital fluid undergoing certain modifications in each case, the consequence being that every object gives forth "magnetic" emanations, and sets in motion "magnetic" currents of its particular kind, and these emanations and motions establish "relations" between things, so that all things are inter-related. "Magnetism is the faculty of being susceptible to all the relations of things," said Mesmer; and Animal Magnetism is the "faculty of being susceptible" to the magnetic influence of animals; but the term has always been confined to the influence of one human being on another. He thought that the magnetism is continually circulating in each person; when *rapport* is made, it circulates through two persons, just as blood would if their arteries and veins were connected. When many people get into *rapport*, as in an excited crowd, the common circulation of the magnetic "matter" makes them think and act alike.

Our ordinary, external, or "gross" senses are not calculated to take cognisance of these emanations and currents; but it is necessary for our preservation that we should do so. We are therefore endowed with internal sense organs, which act unconsciously to us, and the result of whose action is "instinct."

Aphorisms 183, 184, and 190 run thus:—

"183. Besides the known organs of sense, we have different organs proper for receiving impressions, the existence of which we do not suspect, because of our habit of using the known organs of gross matter; and because the strong impressions we are accustomed to do not allow us to perceive the more delicate."

"184. It is probable, and there are strong *à priori* reasons to suspect, that we are endowed with an internal sense which is in relation with the whole of the universe; exact observations alone can make this certain; this makes the possibility of presentiments comprehensible."

"190. The faculty to feel, in the universal harmony, the relation which things and events have with the preservation of each individual, is what should be called instinct."

Instinct we consider to be an unaccountable tendency on the part of an unreasoning creature to do something beneficial to itself or its species, and we rank it far below reason; but Mesmer placed instinct on a much higher level than reason, for it puts us into *rapport* with the whole of Nature, and is the unerring guide to right action; whereas reason, as often as not, founds its conclusions on fallacies which it helps to perpetuate, or prejudices, which at the same time it serves to strengthen.

Aphorisms 196 and 197 run thus:

"196. Man, who alone uses what he calls his reason, is like a person who uses glasses in order to look at the thing he wishes to see; that gives him the habit of never looking at things with his own eyes, and never seeing things as other people do."

"197. Instinct is natural, reason is artificial. Every man has his particular reasoning faculty; instinct is an effect in the order of Nature, determined and invariable for all."*

*Mesmer described the internal senses as prolongations of external senses; he said that there may be senses of the existence of which we are not aware in our normal state, but which may possibly contribute to instinct. He regarded instinct as "the internal sense," which puts us in *rapport* with the whole of Nature, and we must, therefore, have senses that are adequate for that purpose; but, although he spoke of the internal senses as distinct from each other, he looked on them as synthesised in "instinct"—our external senses being, for the rough purposes of mundane life, individualised like the separate rays of the spectrum, and combining, when "prolonged" internally, to form the *white light* (so to speak) of instinct.

Mesmer thought that there are three things in the universe—God, Matter, and Motion—God being eternal, matter and motion being temporal (an idea that bears a distinct resemblance to Huxley's "three things in the universe," Consciousness, Force, and Matter). Mesmer thought that movement is imparted to matter by the Divine will, each thing receiving the kind and amount of movement that is calculated to cause it to perform its appropriate function in conducing to the harmonious operation of the whole. This appointed portion of the universal movement he regarded not only as the formative principle in Nature, but also as the preservative, or the power that brings back into harmony with the rest any particular unit that happens by any cause to be thrown out of equilibrium.

Aphorism 198 runs thus:—

198. Instinct is the portion of the universal movement which is applied to a part of matter, and has been destined to form organs and viscera, and afterwards to preserve and rectify their functions."

It is this throwing of the system out of equilibrium that constitutes disease, and it is the bringing of the system into equilibrium again that constitutes "cure." That is what Mesmer meant when he said "there is only one disease and only one cure"; he did not mean that there was only one way of getting out of equilibrium, and only one way of getting into it again.* As a medical man (Mesmer was a member of the Medical Faculty of Vienna) he knew that the usual proceedings of the doctors can effect cures; he even recommended mild remedies; but he believed that drugs did good

* He said that magnetism was "a certain cure for all diseases," not that it would cure every sick man, although he thought that there were few cases so "desperate" that it would not benefit.

only by arousing the curative power of Nature, and he thought that by discovering how to bring on and regulate "crises" he had found out a method of arousing that curative power, which is of universal application, and which far transcended the usual one in efficacy and certainty. The mechanism by which instinct works for the re-establishment of the equilibrium that we call health, is the appropriate and measured action of the different viscera, and this takes place through the even and unimpeded flow of the stream of magnetism proper for the organism, and to regulate and augment that flow on occasion is the function of the magnetiser.

The 203rd and 224th Aphorisms run :—

"203. Disease is nothing but a perturbation in the regular progression of movement and life."

"224. It is sufficient, in order to re-establish the general harmony, to re-establish the functions of the viscera, because their functions, once re-established, the viscera assimilate all that can be assimilated, and separate all that cannot. This (re-establishing) effect of Nature on the viscera is called a 'crisis.'"

Mesmer taught that there are two distinct kinds of symptoms manifested in disease: those caused by the disease, and those caused by Nature in her efforts to cure it. Medical science does not make that distinction, and has no means of determining which symptoms are caused by the disease, and which by the effort of Nature. The only way to distinguish between them is by magnetism ; for magnetism lessens the symptoms due to the disease, which are harmful, and intensifies the symptoms due to Nature which are curative. If magnetism is good for any patient, it does not matter how severe the crisis be so long as he has

the strength to bear it ; for, after it is over, he will feel himself relieved, better, and happier.* A very little examination of Mesmer's ideas shows that they differed greatly from those of the later Magnetisers, whose effort was to counteract and banish all the symptoms, with the idea that all of them were due to the disease, and that when they all went the disease went with them. Mesmer, on the contrary, thought that a disease may remain latent and reappear unless Nature takes it out of the system by means of a crisis. "No crisis, no cure," he said, although a crisis is seldom violent or convulsive.†

Mesmer, in fact, thought that he perceived in everything a natural tendency to get back into its proper condition or motion when by any cause it is deflected or injured. He regarded this tendency as a manifestation of a Divine force; and he illustrated its action by the magnetic needle, which, when disturbed, always returns of its own accord to its normal position. He thought that nature, by the same law, always endeavours, by its *vis medicatrix*, to bring back the diseased body to a state of health ; but that frequently this Divine force is not strong enough to overcome the "obstruction," whatever it may be, to the regular action of the life forces; and he maintained that the whole art of the physician consisted in removing the obstruction, and

* A crisis was regarded as salutary not only if, when it was over, the patient felt better, but when it was followed by evacuations of any kind that gave relief—violent perspiration being the commonest form of evacuation.

† It would be interesting to know whether a beneficent crisis could be brought on and controlled by means of verbal suggestion; but the experiment would be contrary to the therapeutic principles of the Suggestionists as much as it would be to those of the orthodox practitioner.

that this could be done only by helping nature.* De Puységur thus explains Mesmer's theory that man is a magnet that always tends to turn in the direction of health :—

"M. Mesmer has often said to those who could understand it, that in his natural state a man has poles, and an equator, and is in a magnetised state naturally †; but that the aim of Animal Magnetism is to put him on a pivot, for then a man at once presents the same phenomena as a magnetised bar of iron, also on its pivot. A man in his normal state can be compared to the needle of a compass which has been taken off its pivot and laid on the table. If you lay it on the table it will certainly not cease to be magnetised; but until you replace it on its pivot it will not take any particular direction."

He goes on to say that Mesmer used to explain that just as a magnet has power to attract and repel while lying on the table, so the man in a normal state feels sympathies and antipathies, but that these are far stronger in somnambulism, and it is then only that his natural tendency to return to health is able to show itself fully.

Mesmer denied that drugs alone can cure, for, as he said, "We know that in all ages diseases have been aggravated or cured, with or without the aid of medicine,

* Mesmer says that although Nature always tends to cure, she operates on man with a force which in quickness of action resembles heat; whereas the action of animal magnetism resembles in quickness that of fire.

† The poles of the body have been studied by Dumont, Burq, Landouzy, Wienholt, Dumontpallier, Pitrès, Mangin, Dècle, and others, as well as by Charcot and his disciples. In his "Etats Superficiels de l'Hypnose," (1893), Colonel de Rochas says, "The division of polarity which we have here given (head and trunk positive on the left side, negative on the right, etc.) is that which is found ordinarily; but it does not seem to be constant, even in the same individual. I have seen the inflammation caused by a nail on the side of the neck invert the polarity of the trunk of a subject. I am led to think that it (polarity) develops by usage, perhaps even by the effect of imagination." Mesmer, it should be remarked, said that the poles in the human body are not constant.

according to various systems and methods, in direct opposition to each other." *

But all that—the universal agent, the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, the vital currents and obstructions—does not constitute Mesmer's "discovery"; they were old ideas, as also was the belief that, in endeavouring to break down the "obstruction," nature brings on a "crisis" which violently shakes up a patient's organs and forces, and temporarily increases their action. Even yet, doctors speak of a "crisis" in some diseases, and anxiously await its result. Mesmer's "discovery" which he for so many years endeavoured to persuade the faculty to examine and verify for themselves, *consisted in a method of bringing on the crisis*,† and of

* Mesmer did not prohibit all other external and internal remedies, but only violent drugs; and he said that all medicines should be used with great caution, for they produce effects that are not desired, as well as those that are. In Aphorisms 309, 310, and 311, he recommends a purgative, or an emetic, or a dose of magnesia, or of cream of tartar, according to circumstances, if the stomach is out of order, because then the curative effect of magnetism is much less. In his "Précis Historique," Mesmer explains that he uses the drugs mentioned so sparingly that they rank with hygienic drinks, such as lemonade or gooseberry water, rather than as medicines. He also says that he uses bleeding and purgatives very seldom, and it is evident, therefore, that he was no fanatic in that matter although he said: "The injurious habit of medicaments will for a long time keep back animal magnetism. The ills which Nature inflicts on us are neither so common, so long, so disastrous, nor so hard to cure as those which we make for ourselves by that weakness. Some day that truth will be demonstrated, and humanity will thank me." He was a thorough believer in nutritious diet, and thought that to give medicine and refuse nourishment was like whipping a horse instead of feeding it. He said: "In general my patients, whatever may have been their condition an hour or two previously, leave me in the mornings to go to dinner, in the evenings to go to supper. That kind of nutritious medicine seems a fable to doctors who are accustomed to make their patients die of hunger when they cannot make an end of them otherwise."

† By "crisis" Mesmer meant not only the visible change that comes over the disease, and enables a doctor to foresee the result,

assisting and controlling it, so that it should be a "beneficent" crisis, and should attain the end that nature intended, namely, the recovery of the patient.* He thought that the crisis of any disease could be brought on and controlled by directing into the patient an additional amount of the "universal agent," or life-giving magnetism, and by equalising the distribution of the magnetism the patient himself possessed; and this he at first claimed to accomplish by means of the magnet, which had long been believed to have some "occult" influence upon the human body; but he soon discarded the magnet, and made use of the hand instead. † When Mesmer found that even more

but a change in the magnetic condition of the patient, which acts as a cause of change in the disease. Any abnormal condition was regarded as a sign that a crisis had been brought on, and for many years after Mesmer's time patients were said to be "in crisis" when they became somnambulic. In the same way, to "touch" a patient was the term used for magnetising, long after actual touches ceased to be an important part of the process.

* Deleuze also taught that the effects produced by magnetism (curative effects) are due solely to Nature, whose action is reinforced by that of the magnetiser, those effects being similar to the natural crisis of some maladies, only more regular. With regard to Mesmer's "discovery," Deleuze says: "The effects of magnetism were perceived in all ages; the discovery consists in having known how to make oneself their master, how to apply them, how to reduce them to the same physical cause."

† There can be no doubt that at first Mesmer claimed as his "discovery" the existence of such a thing as Animal Magnetism; but when it was shown that others before him had described a peculiar magnetism as inherent in the human body, he contented himself with the claim that he was the first to prove its existence, and to name it, and to describe the means for bringing it into action, and for controlling and directing it so as to produce a beneficent crisis; and that is, in fact, the whole merit of the "discovery," even if it be allowed (as Mesmer further claimed) that his conception of human magnetism differed from that of any of his predecessors. Deleuze says: "All Mesmer's pupils, even those who were the most exasperated against him, attest that he had made a discovery which was most useful to humanity; they found fault with him only because he opposed its being made public and because he wanted them to accept the explanations which he proposed for the phenomena."

powerful effects could be produced in that way, he concluded that the bodies of animals, especially human bodies, were endowed with a power of acting on each other, as a magnet acts on iron, and he adopted the name of "animal magnetism" for that form of the action of the universal agent or essence. He pictured that agent to himself very much as Van Helmont imagined his "Magnale Magnum," "Animal" Magnetism being the universal magnetism animalised, as mineral magnetism is the universal magnetism mineralised. In one respect Mesmer's idea of Animal Magnetism resembles our conception of electricity more than our conception of magnetism. We are accustomed to picture the magnet as the active agent in, and centre of, an attraction and a repulsion, whereas our idea of electricity is that it constantly runs or flows in currents, to which we attribute qualities such as volume, intensity, speed, and so on. Mesmer pictured man as having a closed circuit of the "magnetic matter" in himself, and also as taking part in a larger circuit, or in many larger circuits of magnetism which flowed through him, and renewed the vitality (so to speak) of the magnetism of his individual circuit. Therefore, we find Mesmer constantly speaking both of increasing the rapidity of the flow of magnetism through the body, and of equalising the magnetism in the body. He does not speak of "charging" the patient with magnetism, or "saturating" him with the "fluid."*

* Mesmer thought that electric and magnetic "matter" were nearly the same. Discussions about their similarities and differences were common in the early part of the 18th century. He believed in "poles" in the human body, of which he enumerated seven; but he seems to have meant regions in the body which were affected differently by the right and left hands, themselves the two principal poles. These "poles," like the "zones" of the hypnotists, are, he says, fluctuating.

Mesmer's Methods.

Mesmer's instructions for producing the crisis, as given to his pupils, were these :—

"You must place yourself opposite to him (the patient), with your back towards the North, and your feet close to his; you must place, without pressure, both your thumbs on the plexus of nerves of the epigastrium, and stretch your fingers towards the hypochondrium. It is beneficial occasionally to move your fingers on the sides, and especially in the region of the spleen. After having continued this exercise for about a quarter of an-hour you should change your mode of operating, according to the condition of your patient. For example, if it be a malady of the eyes, you place your left hand on the right temple of the sufferer, then present the thumbs to the open eyes of the patient, and pass them down the nose and round the eyes. For violent headache, one thumb on the forehead, the other at the back of the head. So for all pains which are felt in other parts of the body, one hand always on one side, the other hand on the opposite side. If the disease is general, you pass your hands, with the fingers pyramid fashion, all down the body, beginning with the head, and going over the shoulders, and then down the back and front of the body.* You must endeavour to put the magnetic fluid in equilibrium in every part of the body. This may be done by presenting the index finger of the right hand at the summit of the head on the left side, and then drawing it down the face to the breast, and over the lower extremities; continue the index finger down to the thighs, repeat this movement several times, bringing up the hand in a circle. Do the same thing with the other hand on the opposite side of the body. In this manœuvre an iron rod may be used instead of the finger."†

Mesmer's method of procedure, as given in the "Aphorisms," differ very slightly from this. Thouret, a contemporary and adverse critic of Mesmer, says :—

"When M. Mesmer touches a patient for the first time he lays his hands on the most important point where the nerves unite. In

* An anonymous work "System Raisoné de Magnetisme," published in 1786, says that Mesmer first lays his hands on the head of the patient, then on the shoulders, and then draws the hand down the course of the nerves, and also down the vertebral column.

† In his "Second Memoir," Mesmer says, "If my proceedings were not reasoned, they would seem ridiculous antics, in which it would be impossible to have any faith."

general, the patient experiences a kind of electric commotion. After which the operator recedes, and extending his finger he conceives between himself and his subject a kind of fluid by which the established communication is preserved. The influence of M. Mesmer lasts several days; and during that time, if the person is susceptible, he can produce at will perceptible effects on him, not only without resorting again to touch, but at a considerable distance, and even through a wall." *

Mesmer says again :—

"The power of magnetism is augmented by establishing a direct communication between several persons. This can be done in two ways; the more simple is to form a chain, with a certain number of persons made to hold each other's hands; it can also be done by means of the *baquet*."

Mesmer does not seem to have troubled himself about "de-magnetising." According to Thouret's description, his patients must have remained in a mildly magnetised state for days. His principal object was to produce the crisis, and when this came on, it wore itself out; when it did not come on, no bad after-effect seems to have followed the operation. The *baquet* was a curious contrivance. Mesmer believed that a person could draw the "fluid," or universal magnetism, from objects; and could impart to objects the power of giving it out.† He and his disciples, for instance, used to magnetise trees by holding them for a few minutes in their embrace, and those who touched those trees were found

* The Report of the Second Commission, 1831, says :—

"When a person has been already magnetised, it is not always necessary to have recourse to contact, or to passes, in order to magnetise afresh. The look of the magnetiser, his will alone, has often the same influence. In this case one can not only act upon the magnetised, but throw him completely into the sleep, and awaken him from this state without his being aware of it, out of his sight, at a certain distance, and through closed doors."

† Deleuze thought that the *baquet* acted primarily as a battery for the universal magnetism, and secondarily for the human. He said it acted, but not so strongly, without itself being magnetised, or "charged."

to experience the same effects as when operated upon by a magnetiser. The *baquet* was believed to act in that way as a "battery"; it was a large oaken tub, filled with magnetised water, in which were laid two circular rows of bottles, with ends reversed, also powdered glass and iron filings, which were supposed to generate or accumulate the universal magnetism; sometimes the water was omitted, in which case the *baquets* were "dry" ones. From the lid of the tub a number of movable iron rods projected, which were grasped by the circle of patients sitting round the tub, and applied, as need might be, to various parts of their bodies; while a long rope encircled their waists to make the necessary connection. Soft music from an unseen source filled the air,* and Mesmer, gorgeously arrayed in coloured silks, went about touching the patients here and there with an iron rod or wand. It will be remarked that there was no will power employed, no passes, no

* Deleuze says that Mesmer used music to bring his patients into a calm state, to give them agreeable sensations, and to produce a uniform movement, and fix their attention. The song of the magnetiser, or the sound of a wind instrument played by him has, Deleuze explains, an effect on the nerves.

The following cutting from a recent London daily paper is very interesting in this reference:—

"St. Louis, Tuesday, February 18th.

"The hospital of this city enjoys the novel distinction of having used music as a palliative for small-pox. Louis Coleman, a small-pox patient, was crazed by the disease, and getting possession of an axe yesterday smashed the furniture and tried to kill the attendants and other patients. Coleman is a powerful man, and was only overcome after a desperate struggle. When disarmed he was tied to the bed, but continued to struggle and rave. Opiates were administered without effect, and the doctors finally decided to try the effect of music. One of the attendants brought a violin and played a dreamy waltz, entitled 'Over the Waves.' Soothed by the strains, Coleman gradually quieted down, and finally sank into a deep sleep which lasted several hours. When he awoke the fever had abated, and he was quite rational, and he is now on the road to recovery."

fixation of the eye, no verbal suggestion, not even any mechanical monotony; nothing but the ridiculously simple, and apparently simply ridiculous, process of sitting round a big wooden tub, holding an iron rod, and waiting for developments.

And those developments were sufficiently startling. First of all came strange sensations in various parts of the body, perspiration, palpitations, and sometimes difficulty of breathing. This was followed in some cases by mental exaltation, and a sense of extreme comfort; in other cases by ringing in the ears, vertigo, and a strange somnolency. As the operation continued, a veritable "nervous crisis" was developed; the patients were seized with fits of laughter, or of sobbing, or of screaming, or else they became cataleptic, or fell into convulsions, resembling epilepsy; and then they were carried by attendants into the adjoining "salle des crises," and laid on couches, or otherwise attended; and there they generally soon subsided into a deep sleep, from which they awoke after a time, declaring themselves greatly refreshed and benefited. These convulsions sometimes lasted for hours, but we do not read of any harm being ever done by them, any more than in the case of the violent convulsions so often seen during epidemics of religious emotion; and Mesmer had the power of instantly arresting the most terrible *crise* by a word, by a wave of his hand, by a touch of his "wand" or even by a look.* The patients who sat round the

* Mesmer, himself, seems to have been endowed with extraordinary psycho-physical power. Stories are told of his producing convulsions in persons standing at a distance by pointing his cane at them. This was long regarded as an absurdity, but Dr. Osgood Mason, in his recent work on Hypnotism, says: "With my patient,

baquet seem to have got into *rapport* not only with Mesmer, but also with one another; for a prominent symptom was their curious emotional sympathy with each other. The Report of the Royal Committee of 1784, thus describes the scene :—

"The patients present a spectacle extremely varied, in proportion to their different habits of body; some of them are calm, tranquil, and unconscious of any sensation; others cough, expectorate, and are affected with a slight degree of pain, a partial or general heat, and increased perspiration; others are agitated and tormented with convulsions. These convulsions are of extraordinary violence and duration; as soon as one person is convulsed, several others are affected by the same symptons. . . . . Some patients seek each other with eagerness, and in approaching, smile and converse with all the demonstrations of attachment, and soothe their mutual crises. They are entirely under the government of the person who distributes the magnetic virtue. In vain may they appear to be in a state of extreme drowsiness, his voice, his look, a motion made by him, arouses them. It is impossible not to recognise in these uniform and constant effects an extraordinary influence acting on the patients, making itself master of them; and the magnetiser, he who superintends the process, appears to be the common centre whence this extraordinary power diverges."*

'M.M.' I could at any time produce muscular contraction, showing itself in well-marked spasm, by simply pointing my finger at her, from a distance of ten or twelve feet, and this occurred whether she was aware of my action or not, or even of my presence, and the same effect was produced through a closed door."

* In a book called "Mesmer Justifié," published anonymously in 1784, a pleasanter account of the scene at the public *baquets* is given: "One sees there cooks, abbés, doctors, marquises, grisettes, soldiers, contractors, dandies, young girls, midwives, wits, peri-wigs, moribunds, and strong, healthy people. Everything there announces some strange attraction, some unknown power: magnetised bars, *baquets*, rods, cords, plants, and diverse musical instruments, among which is a harmonica, whose flute-like tones enliven some, give others a slight delirium, excite some to laughter and others to tears. . . . . One finds nothing at Mons. Mesmer's but people given up to pleasure and hope: the sick become radiant and gay, jaundiced faces light up, eyes speak, and the very silence is expressive, and almost supernatural. . . . . And everyone leaves the place with a new dose either of life, or of health, or of gaiety, or of delight." Dr. Deslon, at whose house most of the séances of the Commisioners

It is chiefly the *baquet*, the "wand," and the gorgeous costume* that has earned for Mesmer the reputation of charlatan, for he was a duly qualified physician, an M.D. of the Faculty of Vienna, and a member of the Academy of Bavaria. The applicability of the epithet depends upon whether he himself believed in the efficacy of his procedure, and no doubt he believed in it firmly. It is not unusual for different medical schools to call each other "charlatans"; and the idea that Mesmer was truly a charlatan has grown by degrees, as the facts concerning him were forgotten; most of his contemporaries did not question his sincerity, and made no attempt to deny the reality of the effects he produced; indeed, these were too notorious to be denied. He had many friends, among whom were some members of the Academy of Medicine, and men in high position. During the eighteen months following his arrival in Paris upwards of five hundred controversial pamphlets were published; and when he determined to leave that city, he refused a large annuity which he was offered by the King if he would stay in France and teach his system. Mesmer was a curious blend of the practical and the theoretical, of the material and the spiritual, and to understand him it

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were held, says that, as a rule, only about one patient in ten got convulsions; and that many were cured without experiencing any unusual sensations.

* That Mesmer adopted an extraordinary costume, I do not myself think likely. It is mentioned only by unfriendly writers, but, on the other hand, it is not denied by his friends, who, however, may not have thought it worth while to defend him from such an absurdity; for to do anything ridiculous, or which would excite the imagination of his patients, is totally contrary to Mesmer's methods and well-known character. He believed that silk had a certain magnetic effect, and his adoption of silk for a garment (if he did adopt it) would be explained thereby. The "wand" means what he called a *rod*.

is necessary to remember that he lived in an age of twilight, when the ancient wisdom (such as it was) was fading out, and the light of modern science (such as it is) was beginning to shine forth. He was the antithesis of a "mystic," indeed he specially disliked mysticism, with its hazy conceptions and incommunicable feelings. His idea of "a universal medium" was a scientific hypothesis. An enthusiast he undoubtedly was, or he could not have so bravely stood up against the treatment he received from his professional brethren.

Mesmer's Personality.

In 1856, Dr. Justinius Kerner published his work, "Franz Anton Mesmer aus Schwaben," of which Mrs. Howitt Watts gives copious extracts in her "Pioneers of Spiritual Reformation" (1883). Dr. Kerner's work describes a visit made to Meersburg not long before he wrote, and how he there met Herr von Lassburg, an old man of 86, who had been a personal friend of Mesmer, and possessed many relics of him, and manuscripts of his. Herr von Lassburg had an oil painting of Mesmer when 76 years old, which was declared by him, and by others who had known Mesmer, to be extremely like him. The picture showed a man possessed of both physical and intellectual strength, of great firmness of will, and of gravity combined with benevolence. Dr. Kerner also saw Mesmer's "permit de séjour" at Paris, in which he was described as follows:—"Age 64; height, 1 metre 76 centimetres; hair and eyebrows, brown; eyes, ditto; chin, double; countenance, full; forehead, high; nose and mouth, medium."

It is curious that not only are there differences of opinion about Mesmer's birthplace, but even about his first names. One finds them as often given as Frederick Anton, as Franz Anton. Many writers speak of him as "Anton Mesmer" only, and he is generally called "Mons. Mesmer," even in the title-pages of his books and pamphlets, and he signed himself only "Mesmer." A copy of the entry in the parish register of births, which was seen by Kerner, shows that he was born at Iznang, parish of Weiler, bailivick of Rudolfzell, on the Lake of Constance, May 23rd, 1734, and was christened Franciscus Antonius Mesmer. Among the papers of Mesmer which Herr von Lassberg showed Dr. Kerner, was a curious and interesting account, written by a Herr Seyfert, a well-known scientific man of the period when Mesmer used electricity and magnetism in addition to his own natural power. Seyfert gives a vivid picture of Mesmer's operations at the feudal castle of a great Hungarian Baron, which is so interesting, not only as showing Mesmer's methods at that time (1775), but also as giving a picture of the life at a great Baronial Castle, that I venture to quote it *in extenso*, using Mrs. Watts's excellent translation. It must be understood that Mesmer was called from Vienna to treat Baron Hareczky for an intractable illness by his "new process of cure"; and that Herr Seyfert was at first of opinion that Mesmer was a charlatan. Seyfert says:—

"The Baron who was still considerably under thirty years of age, frequently experienced spasms in the throat which threatened to choke him. Every remedy which he used was useless. He therefore had a medical consultation held in Vienna with regard to his sufferings, the result of which was the

expression of opinion already entertained by his physician Ungerhoffer, namely, that if his spasms were not alone purely of nervous origin, as it appeared to them, he would not die from their effect, and that the spasms, as years went on, would cease. As his symptoms still remained the same, he again had a medical consultation held at Vienna, and among the doctors were Van Swieten and Van Haen. The conclusion arrived at was precisely the same as upon the former occasion; but in order to satisfy the Baron a tea was prescribed, for the preparation of which each physician present was to name a herb. This was done. When Van Swieten was alone with the patient, however, he drily observed that the tea could do him no good; nothing would be of service but time. Dissatisfied with this opinion, the Baron applied to Van Haen, who spoke in much the same strain; the Baron appearing little satisfied, Van Haen advised him—since the doctors apparently could discover no remedy for his complaint—to be magnetised by Mesmer, although Van Haen himself had little belief in the wonderworker. The Baron upon this lost no time in communicating with Mesmer, who was invited to Rohow. These particulars I received from the Baron's own lips; of the further events I was myself principally a witness.

"In the year 1775, one evening, in the most beautiful season of the year, Dr. Mesmer arrived at Rohow without my being aware of his arrival. No sooner did I learn that he was in the castle than I hastened to see and welcome this man of wonders. Upon my entrance into the room I found the Baron and Dr. Mesmer seated together upon the sofa. The conversation lasted a considerable time, and turned upon a variety of topics. At length Mesmer quite unexpectedly exclaimed, 'Herr Baron, have you felt nothing?' 'No, nothing,' was the reply. 'Therefore,' replied Mesmer, 'your illness is simple imagination.'

"The following morning the barber from Senitz told me that while he shaved Mesmer, Mesmer had questioned him regarding the Baron's spasms; and the barber being unable to give him any information, Mesmer had exclaimed, 'I maintain my belief; the Baron is only suffering in his imagination!' I must confess that these enquiries of Mesmer, addressed to the barber, made me more distrustful of him than ever; although I am equally obliged to confess that his repeated declaration of belief in the power of the Baron's imagination was in his favour.

"For some time Mesmer was occupied in putting into order his magnetic apparatus, among which I observed variously shaped

artificial magnets, and an electrical machine, which had been broken upon the journey and thereby rendered useless. I therefore lent him mine, which, although smaller and simpler of construction, nevertheless proved all that was necessary.

"The news of Mesmer's presence spread like lightning through the neighbourhood, and from all sides streamed towards the castle crowds, among whom were the noble and the learned. The number of sick who announced their presence at the castle —where a special room was prepared for them—daily increased.

"Amongst those who sought help from Mesmer was a considerable proportion who, after careful examination, were regarded by him as suitable for magnetic treatment; a much smaller number, not being nervously affected patients, he recommended to other doctors, or himself wrote prescriptions for them, did they desire it, without, however, accepting the readily offered fees.

"Owing to my suspicions of Mesmer, increased by the barber's words, for some time, except when my duties required me elsewhere, I scarcely quitted Mesmer's side. With suspicious eyes I watched not alone himself, but the behaviour and words both of the patients and of the domestics of the Castle.

"At first no remarkable results were produced either by the movements of his hands or by the magnets and electricity. The very slight effects produced upon the sick people were attributed both by myself and the other spectators to the excited imaginations of the patients. And we still maintained this preconceived opinion, when, through Mesmer's continued exertions and the continued magnetic influence, certain of the doubting spectators were obliged to withdraw themselves through experiencing sensations of discomfort. In our eyes all still remained imagination or deception, or both combined. Thus did we struggle against the visible truth that pressed upon us. Illogically, we only calculated upon one possible means of deception, although under the circumstances this very deception must have been an impossibility, since Mesmer had previously seen not one of the sick persons, and the greater number had been confirmed invalids long before his arrival: add to which the greater part of the sufferers were far too thoroughly unsophisticated children of Nature to have ever made use of any—and especially in so artistically managed a piece of deception as Mesmer's scheme must have been—had he been in fact carrying on any scheme of deception. Besides which, the greater number spoke, and understood, no other language than Sclavonian; between these and Mesmer I acted

the part of a very observant and cunning interpreter, frequently so clothing his German questions in Sclavonian, or adding somewhat thereto, that he received 'No' when he expected 'Yes,' and was thus thrown into much perplexity by the appearance or actions of the persons addressed, until I in German explained what had been said. Whenever Mesmer chanced to be absent, I made use of my opportunity to question the magnetised patients, but never elicited any single admission which could in the slightest strengthen my suspicions. In fact, at length, I was compelled to become suspicious of my own suspicions.

"Mesmer had not long been amongst us, busied with his magnets, before various members of the household began to complain of various peculiar sensations of disease which they had never previously felt. Mesmer perceiving that although I was the person most constantly with him, yet that I complained of nothing, observed that I must be the most healthy person in the Castle. Nevertheless, his magnetism, within the first four or five days, must have influenced me. The Baron, a passionate lover of music, and himself a performer on the violin, was accustomed each day to arrange a little concert, and, when visitors were at the Castle, even more frequently. Upon such occasions I was accustomed to play the alto-viola. During Mesmer's visits these concerts usually took place after dinner, and Mesmer would play his accompaniment upon the violoncello; and now something curious would occur, as, for instance, throughout the first part of a symphony I would continue to play as usual, but during the second part would become, contrary to my usual custom, each time so sleepy that I would drop asleep in the midst of my playing, and through my incorrect accompaniment would disturb the music, and be forced to lay aside my instrument. After some time my desire for sleep during these concerts began to abate, until at length I was able to play without interruption from beginning to end. When at length I was completely cured of my suspicions regarding Mesmer, and after I observed that he frequently operated upon the sick by his music when they were removed from him by the distance of two chambers, the doors of which were locked, the idea occurred to me that he might still more easily have brought this slumber over me by playing upon the violoncello while I sat next to him.

"Mesmer himself was of opinion that upon occasions when people fall suddenly unwell during the performance of music, as is not infrequently the case both at church and in the opera-house, some highly magnetic singer or musician is present who,

through his singing, or the vibrations of his instrument, circulates his magnetic atmosphere around him, and which thus acts upon the most nervously organised persons present. It will not be superfluous to mention here the following circumstance:— It was the custom for two horn players, belonging to the Baron's household, to perform upon their horns at uncertain times on a balcony of the Castle. This music, it seems, was listened to by the sick people with pleasure. Upon one occasion, during the performance of various pieces of music by the horns, suddenly several of the sick people began to grumble, some even to curse, whilst others sighed, and were seized with convulsive attacks. In order to enquire into the cause of this unexpected change, I passed out of the hall, through two rooms, the doors of which were closed, when I came upon Mesmer, who was holding with his right hand the outermost rim of the mouth of one of the horns whilst it was being played. I related to him that the sick people were very uneasy; he smiled, but continued to hold the horn firmly whilst the next piece of music was being performed. Then he let go of the horn, taking hold once more of it, however, in the same place, only with his left hand. At length he left entire hold of the instrument with the words, 'Now, or soon, the sick folks will be quiet.' Immediately I returned to the hall, where the sick soon recovered themselves."

Herr Seyfert goes on to describe how Mesmer produced similar effects upon the patients in the hall by holding the right hand of a lady who was singing in another place, and whose voice was feebly heard by them. And he says that Mesmer produced strong effects by pointing his finger at the reflection of a person in a mirror. He describes several cures operated by Mesmer, among them that of a young Jew, who was in a state of great weakness from disease of the lungs. "Mesmer having enquired after the seat of the complaint, pointed with his finger towards the man's chest, standing at some little distance, when, within a very short time, the sick Jew, after a strong convulsion, in the presence of many witnesses, vomited a con-

siderable quantity of matter." He then got well, and Seyfert continues :—

"The following year this Jew recognised me in the street at Sobotischt, hastily approached me, and enquired with much cordiality after Mesmer. He begged me when again I should see Dr. Mesmer, to thank him in his name, most sincerely, for the help which he had given him, for—to use his own expression —he had taken nothing, and yet now was always fresh, lively, and healthy as a fish."

To a patient suffering from a painful induration in the stomach Mesmer gave a large bottle of magnetised water to hold to the part, and this began at once to give him relief. This man was a very uncouth peasant and Mesmer applied electricity to him in the following curious manner :—

"One day, Mesmer, whilst in the ante-room, the door of which was shut, charged the electrifying machine. Suddenly the peasant let fly the coarsest Sclavonian oaths against Mesmer. I questioned him why he allowed himself to be thus carried away, when the man excused himself by saying that he was experiencing such prickings as could only come from 'that German man or the devil.' Smiling at the peasant's simplicity, I entered the ante-chamber, where I found that Mesmer, in the presence of various spectators, was attracting the sparks out of the electric machine by the knuckles of his hand, at each repetition of the experiment the peasant sighing and compressing his teeth together, as I could both see and hear, standing as I did with one foot within the ante-chamber, the other in the hall."

Seyfert continues :—

"And now with reference to Baron Hareczky himself. It is easy to suppose that Mesmer used every means to render the Baron susceptible to the influence of magnetism, he being the sole object of Mesmer's visit to Rohow. During the first five days all his magnetism, even assisted by electricity and magnets, was entirely without effect, so that the Baron observed several times to us that it must naturally trouble him no little to find so many persons susceptible to the influence, and still that he himself should experience nothing. On the evening of the fifth day he said the same to Mesmer, who replied, 'From this very

circumstance you must perceive that you are not nervously diseased.' On the sixth evening, for the first time did Mesmer give him a little hope. When feeling his pulse, as he was accustomed to do whilst magnetising him, he observed, 'Patience! you shall soon feel something assuredly.' Nevertheless, during the following day, Mesmer's prophesy appeared likely to remain unfulfilled. Late in the evening, in the presence of various persons of the household, he endeavoured to fortify the mind of the Countess to bear the occurrences of the morrow, which was to be a day of so much anxiety for her. She appeared, however, not any longer to rely much upon Mesmer's words. Towards eight o'clock on the morrow, the chambermaid came running to me, saying that I must leave everything and go straight to the Countess, for the Baron was very ill. I was just near the door of her sitting-room, when forth rushed the *Büchsenspanner* (chasseur), a fine-looking strong man. He was pale as death, and swore frightfully at Mesmer, who, he told me, wanted to kill him as well as the Baron. In the room, I found the Countess running up and down, wringing her hands, and exclaiming when she saw me, 'Ah, that cursed Mesmer will send my husband to the grave!' She then bade me write in all haste a note to Dr. Ungerhoffer, saying that he should come as speedily as possible to see the Baron, who was in great danger; but before I wrote I had better witness the frightful scene myself. Much as I was shocked, I could not preserve myself from laughing, so unexpected and extraordinary a spectacle did both magnetiser and magnetised present. Mesmer sat at the right side of the bed upon a chair, with his left arm turned towards the bed; he wore a grey gown, trimmed with gold lace, and upon one leg a white silk stocking; his other foot, naked, was placed in a wooden washtub, about two feet in diameter, and filled with water. Whether the water was hot or cold, or whether it contained magnets, I did not observe. By the side of this tub sat the violinist Kolowratek, with his face turned towards the bed, from which the *Büchsenspanner*—suddenly feeling himself unwell—had removed. Kolowratek was completely dressed, but held in his hand a cane walking stick, which was placed with its iron-sheathed tip in the tub of water. This cane he held in his right hand, and rubbed incessantly from the top downwards. Probably another person might have regarded the whole of these preparations as the jugglery of a charlatan, but I did not do so, being aware that friction and water are powerful agents in producing electricity. Both these personages were silent. It was only the Baron who spoke,

whilst he lay in bed covered alone with his fur coat made of wolves' skins.

"He was suffering from cold, and yet spoke in a delirious manner, like a sick man in a fever. On account of writing the letter to Dr. Ungerhoffer, I was not able to remain long in the room; Mesmer, however, observed to me that I might write to the doctor that he need only bring with him two doses of *cremor tartari*, as the Baron was certain to be up and about before he arrived. My letter having been written, our hussar galloped with it to Holitsch, a little town distant about two German miles. He was followed by a coach with four horses. Curiosity led me again to the chamber of the sick man. Everything there remained unchanged. There was no end to the delirious talk, the curses, the lamentations, and whimperings of the poor Baron. Frequently he besought us to shoot him dead outright. We none of us were in a comfortable state of mind. Mesmer alone appeared grave and thoughtful. When the crisis of the disease appeared to Mesmer to have reached a sufficient height, he left hold of the Baron's hand, and in place of the hand caught hold of him by the foot, when the violence of the paroxysms abated. We imagined the whole was over, when suddenly Mesmer seized the Baron by the hand once more, and the paroxysms returned. For some time he thus exchanged his hold upon the Baron with the results ever the same in their alteration. The Countess, filled with distress, had meanwhile entered the chamber several times, reproaching Mesmer very severely. He only replied calmly, 'Did I not last evening tell you that you must not let yourself be alarmed by the severe attacks which the Baron would have this morning? But you shall speedily see him well again!' Mesmer, having continued his alternate magnetism for some time, until he perceived that the Baron had received sufficient of its influence, then desisted. He told the Baron to rise and be dressed, and when his toilet was completed, led him into the presence of the Countess, who was greatly delighted to behold her husband once more apparently in his usual health.

"Mesmer meanwhile, entered the hall to attend there to his patients; and I followed him. Whilst he was busied magnetising, various aristocratic guests had presented themselves to the Baron and Countess. Mesmer, being a stranger to several of these personages, was requested to make his appearance amongst them. I followed Mesmer as if I had been his shadow. The Baron, about whose mouth and cheeks a sort of blister-eruption had formed itself, began, according to his custom, to play

various lively tunes upon his violin, at the same time dancing about merrily. Towards twelve o'clock, the earnestly-expected Dr. Ungerhoffer entered the room. His surprise was not little when he perceived the Baron—whom he imagined he would find dangerously ill—thus gaily occupied. A struggle was perceived going on in his mind between earnest consideration and doubt. He shook his head, felt the pulse of the Baron, and said to Mesmer, 'We must not permit the fever to return a second time; it has been too violent.' Mesmer, who desired to try further experiments on the Baron, was by no means satisfied with this answer. He would not allow that there was any danger incurred, because he considered that he kept the fever entirely in his own power. Dr. Ungerhoffer denied this; he had several similar fever cases himself among his patients at that very time, and these patients had, like the Baron, complained of painful tearings in their limbs; therefore, according to him, the fever probably had some other origin than mesmerism.

So they had a wrangle, Dr. Ungerhoffer attributing the fever to chance coincidence with the magnetism, Mesmer maintaining that had there been no magnetism there would have been no fever, and calling witnesses to prove that two days previously he had already foretold the attack; and offering to lay a wager that the Baron would not have another attack of fever unless he were again magnetised. Seyfert goes on to say:—

"For a day or two, Mesmer did not attempt to magnetise the Baron again, and there was no return of the fever, although the Baron took no means to void an attack. Upon the third or fourth day, however, Mesmer was desirous to magnetise him once more, early in the morning; but the Baron would not at first hear of such a thing. After much resistance he, however, laid himself down upon his bed. The magnetism commenced as usual. The effects soon began to show themselves, but this time in a modified degree. The Baron, however, would not endure it ten minutes; and before he began to lose consciousness sprang out of bed, saying, 'Rather than endure such torment a second time, he would keep his spasm for ever.' Nothing could induce him to return to his bed. Within the space of a year or more, in fact, so long as I remained at Rohow, he was free from both fever and spasms. As the Baron continued to

refuse to be further operated upon, Dr. Mesmer observed to the Countess, in the presence of myself and others: 'Had the Baron submitted thoroughly to the magnetic treatment, each attack would have become weaker, and would finally have ceased altogether; but now I am forced to confess that at some future time he will fall into the same condition in which he was in his first paroxysm. I am no longer of use here.' The departure of Mesmer now took place."

It is evident that Mesmer was here acting according to his theory, by bringing on a crisis that would destroy the "obstruction" that caused the spasms. His prediction of evil if the magnetic cure was not completed is in accordance with what later magnetisers have said—that it is dangerous to leave a cure half completed. A curious thing took place as Mesmer was going away:—

"Upon the day when Mesmer was returning to Vienna, and when everything was ready for his journey, in order to take leave of him as he stepped into the carriage, and wish him a good journey, I went down into the courtyard expecting to find him there. As he did not appear, I re-ascended the steps, descending which I expected to see him approach. At the top of the steps I found a curious group assembled; that is to say, Mesmer, who was holding a young peasant-lad by both his ears, and a footman, who was acting as interpreter between the two. All three stood stock still, and I also; having once more become all-observant. In the meantime, the silence was broken by the sudden appearance of the Countess, who, after she had said something to Mesmer, enquired in her usual tone of voice, of the peasant, 'Whose serf art thou?' 'Yours, great and mighty Countess!' returned the lad. 'And what is the matter with thee?' 'Six weeks ago I lost my hearing in a great wind, and this gentleman is giving it back to me again.' The Countess once more took leave of Mesmer and withdrew. We four remained silent, until Mesmer ceased his operation; when he asked me to tell the peasant to procure some cotton wool in the castle to stop his ears with, and to advise him as much as possible to avoid exposing himself to the wind. After this, I accompanied Mesmer to the carriage, and he took leave of us all, not without emotion."

It could not have been long after this that Mesmer gave up the use of electricity and the magnet. On this point Dr. Kerner says :—

"He ascertained that the principle agent of his cures dwelt within himself, and that it was a directly operative agent, through the fact that its power increased by use. Nevertheless, the idea was never combatted by Mesmer, that persons upon whom Animal Magnetism exercises but a slight influence, are rendered more susceptible to this influence by the influence of electricity and galvanism; and it is, as Wolfart has expressed his opinion, readily to be accepted that all these natural powers are to be simply regarded as the lowest, earliest, and inorganic stages of Life-magnetism, which, however, aid in producing conditions conducive to the reception of the influence of the Life-magnetism."

However interesting such a flash-light as this which Seyfert gives us on Mesmer's method when he used adventitious aids, the real interest in Animal Magnetism attaches to his operations when he trusted to his power alone, and we are able to understand his operations at that period best by what he is recorded to have said and done after he went to Paris. This we have to gather as best we can from his own meagre writings, which were far more polemical than explanatory, and from the rather superficial and confused accounts of disciples and witnesses, who were often exaggerators when friendly, and traducers when inimical.

Mesmer's Fight for his Discovery in Vienna.

Deleuze, the learned and sober-minded librarian of the Jardin des Plantes, the friend of Cuvier and Humboldt, and translator of Darwin (the elder) and of Spencer (the poet), gives an account of Mesmer, and of his ideas and his efforts, in his "Histoire Critique du

Magnetisme Animal," which I believe to be substantially correct, and which corroborates what I have said. He says :—

"That extraordinary man, endowed with an energetic character, a meditative mind, and a strong imagination, was struck by some phenomena which could not depend upon the known laws of physiology. In trying to find out their cause, he succeeded in reproducing them, and he recognised in man the faculty of acting upon the organs of his fellow men by means very simple in themselves, but the efficacy of which depends on the will of the person who employs them. He connected these observations with a theory, which he may have invented, or may have taken out of some little-known books.* The successes which he had gave him an exaggerated idea of his power, and that idea augmented the force he possessed. He believed that he had discovered the universal agent in Nature, and in directing it by the processes he adopted one could cure all diseases, and might even exercise a considerable influence upon the social condition of the world. The cures he made astonished those who witnessed them, and soon created an enthusiasm, which gave rise to most unfounded pretensions. On the other hand, the recital of those marvels aroused the incredulous ; and these, instead of examining that which they thought absurd, attacked it, sometimes with argument, sometimes with ridicule, and often with all the violence of party spirit."

Again he says :

"Mesmer believed that man possesses an internal sense, which has its seat in the common centre formed by the reunion and interlacement of the nerves, our various senses being the differentiated or specialised prolongations outward of this internal sense. The internal sense is in touch with the whole of nature by means of a subtle fluid, which acts on it as light acts on the eyes, but in every kind of way. It can in certain circumstances acquire an excessive

* Although many of Mesmer's disciples were, like Deleuze, inclined to pooh-pooh his cosmic theories, some accepted them. Tardy de Montravel, for instance, believed in a fluid which passes through all bodies and modifies or is modified by them ; when it circulates easily between two or more things they are in harmony. The nerves get sensations through this fluid, he thought; we have an internal sense which is situated in the solar plexus, and is a combination of all the senses. It is the principle of instinct in animals, and of intuition in man. With this sense, by the aid of the fluid, we cognise things at a distance, as we do near things by our senses, acting with the aid of light, air, &c.

irritability and then it takes on the functions of all the senses, which then seem to have received a marvellous extension, with very astonishing results. The phenomenon which we call "somnambulism" is, in fact, the manifestation of this internal sense. According to Mesmer, somnambulism is induced only when the health is deranged: it is the crisis which Nature employs in order to cure, and which becomes dangerous itself when no longer necessary. He believed that most nervous diseases, insanity, epilepsy, catalepsy, and so on, are no more than a degenerate and imperfect somnambulism, and that they might be cured if their origin were recognised and magnetism were employed to aid Nature to carry out the crisis and re-establish harmony. Mesmer believed that somnambulism is a natural crisis intended for the cure of disease, and therefore part of the malady which ought to cease when the other part did."

Yet again, Deleuze says:—

"Mons. Mesmer is a physician who has acquired a reputation in his profession by his talents; he showed effects which everyone might examine; he invited the savants of Europe to verify these effects; he addressed himself to Academies of Science and to Societies of Medicine; he asked them to listen to his theory and to discuss it; he does not take us into the region of chimeras; he professes to have physical means of curing disease, and he admits everyone to his treatments. It is true that at first he made a mystery of his processes; but he said that he did so because they might be abused, and because, to employ them properly, preliminary instruction was required.* Soon afterwards he takes pupils; he lays open to them his whole doctrine; he teaches them the means by which to produce the same effects which he produced himself. Whether his theory be wrong or not does not matter: the means which he indicated succeed with all who employ them; his pupils—selected from among the most enlightened, and including many medical men—scatter themselves everywhere, they teach others whom they know, and the same phenomena are repeated in the most distant lands. Magnetism is

* Deleuze says elsewhere that it was owing to the exaggerations and extravagances in which enthusiasts indulged in regard to Magnetism that Mesmer wished to cause it to be practised empirically, and therefore made a secret of his theories except to his own pupils, and concealed some things even from them: for he dreaded their disputing about theory to the detriment of their practice. That is, in fact, what happened, and is happening: for those who have occupied themselves with the subject have all along been like students in a school of painting, who left off working at their pictures in order to dispute about the way in which their colours were manufactured.

practised equally well by the learned and the simple ; cures are made in lonely villages and in great cities ; uneducated peasants are often the best magnetisers ; there is no longer any secret, and anyone can verify the facts ; all may magnetise and convince themselves ; those who have done so all recognise the power of magnetism. . . . . Mesmer's pupils were not convinced by his reasonings, or by the exposition of his theory ; they were convinced only when they themselves had exercised a faculty which they had been told they possessed."

It is necessary, however, to mention more particularly some incidents in Mesmer's career that are usually misrepresented. One thing still said about him sometimes, is that he was obliged by the authorities to leave Vienna. That venerable slander was answered by Mesmer himself. He says :—

"Among other calumnies, people said that the authorities had ordered me to quit Vienna. That useless calumny was maladroit, for I had an introduction to M. de Merci, the Austrian Ambassador in Paris, given me by the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Vienna."

Another "calumny" of which he complained was that Father Hell (or Hehl) was the true discoverer of Animal Magnetism. Father Hell (as the name is almost always spelled) was a Jesuit and professor of Astronomy at the University of Vienna. He was curious about the theory put forward by Mesmer in his Address, "De Planetarum Influxu," and Mesmer sent him some Essays on the subject to read. Father Hell had the "occult" idea that magnets should be made in the shape of the organ they were intended to affect, and made to fit close to the part. He accordingly sent Mesmer some magnets to try on a patient of his, who was in "a frightful state"—two of them for the feet, and a heart-shaped one for the heart. The effect was a burning heat and severe pains where the magnets were applied, followed by a copious perspiration, and cure. There were a few

relapses, which were quickly cured by the same means.* Father Hell then published an account of the cure, claiming it as his, and as the result of his theory of magnetic action. This Mesmer resented, and a bitter quarrel was the result, Father Hell becoming Mesmer's irreconcilable enemy. Not long after this incident, as Mesmer tells us in a tract on the magnet published at Geneva in 1782, he happened to be present one day when someone was being bled, and he noticed that the flow of blood differed in amount when he approached or receded; this set him thinking and experimenting, and he came to the conclusion that man's body is a source of magnetism, and that the human hand alone had as great an effect, and a more beneficial one, than when a magnet was used. And he ceased from that time to employ anything else than Animal Magnetism proper, to the masked effect of which he said that Father Hell's magnetic cures were due.

But the chief calumnies of which Mesmer complained concerned his cures. He made a point of welcoming the very worst cases he could get, and many wonderful cures were reported; but every cure he made was the cause of a dispute with the Faculty. The battle raged most furiously round two female patients named Osterline and Paradis, between whose cases, however, a year intervened. I cannot go into the miserable particulars of these cases. The Faculty seems to have adopted the tactics which have all along so far been successful: they refused to examine the patients before the treatment began, and when it

* It is curious that when Mesmer applied the magnet it seems always to have caused "burning heat" and "tearing pains."

ended denied that there had ever been any serious illness. But it is to be remarked that Mesmer fought the doctors on terms of equality, which would not have been the case if they had considered him a "quack." Many of those who denied the cures were interested in Mesmer's experiments, among others Baron von Stoerck, President of the Faculty of Vienna and First Physician to the Emperor, a position which made him (the holder) equivalent officially to a Minister of Medicine. The Baron seems to have sat on the fence until the end,* but Mr. Ingenhause, an English F.R.S., who was on a visit to Vienna, became an ally of Father Hell, although Mesmer says that at first he expressed himself convinced by what he saw.†

Worn out and disgusted, Mesmer went for a tour through Switzerland, Bavaria, and Swabia in 1776. He visited Father Gassner at Ratisbon, and concluded Animal Magnetism to be the active principle in all the good Father's cures by exorcism. Gassner had been for many years an invalid, whom no physician could cure. He came to the conclusion that the Devil was at the bottom of it all, and began his remarkable career by exorcising himself. He got well, and kept well; and then he began to cure others by

* Baron von Stoerck advised Mesmer not to make his discovery public, as he would then incur the enmity of the profession. He seems to have been perfectly convinced of the reality and extraordinary nature of the phenomena, but to have thought himself obliged to deny their curative effect.

† Mesmer, in describing an interview with Ingenhause, mentions a significant detail. He asked Ingenhause to try if he could affect a sleeping subject by pointing his finger at her. It had no effect. Then Mesmer took hold of Ingenhause's hands for a minute "to impart the magnetism to him," and when he tried again, the woman was thrown into convulsions. This may, however, have been a simple case of suggestions sub-consciously heard by the sleeper.

the same means. He believed that he cured by a power from God; and adopted the orthodox Roman Catholic view, that there are two kinds of disease—natural disease, which the doctor can cure, and which is not affected by exorcism, and demoniac disease, which the priest can cure, but the doctor cannot. To these Gassner added a third category which he called "mixed," and which required the services of both priest and doctor. Those whom he could not affect, Gassner passed on to the doctor, those whom he affected only a little he sent afterwards to be dosed.* In order to find out to which class any case belonged, Gassner began by calling on the demon to show himself, and, when it was a demoniacal disease, the patient had thereupon a severe attack; and Gassner then proceeded to question him in Latin, which the demon understood, although the patient did not; then he abused the demon roundly, and finally commanded him in the name of Christ to depart, which he did after a final display of his power.†

When Mesmer afterwards returned to Vienna, he made another effort to convince the Faculty by curing desperate cases, and among his patients was

* By that division of diseases, Gassner avoided a danger thus described by Deleuze :—"It has frequently happened to enthusiasts who believed they healed by a special gift of God, to lose their power, but this never happens to Magnetisers. The reason is that the enthusiasts are discouraged by failures, and think that God is withdrawing the gift from them, and that doubt is fatal to their power. The Magnetiser expects occasional failures, for which his theory accounts, and he is not at all discouraged when they occur, and his confidence in his power remains unshaken."

† Thouret, who wrote a learned criticism of Mesmer, attributed Gassner's cures to "some preparation" which he rubbed on his hands; for Gassner was observed to sometimes rub his hands on his girdle and on his handkerchief while operating. Thouret thought that perhaps Mesmer employed the same or a similar "preparation"!

the young lady named Paradis, who had been totally blind from her earliest years, and who had been certified as incurable by the famous oculist, Baron v. Wenzel. He took her to his establishment, and in a few months her parents, and (according to Mesmer) Baron von Stoerck himself, whose patient she had been for several years previously, testified to her cure—the letter from her parents being filled with expressions of the deepest gratitude. She could see. Mesmer, however, kept her with him in order to complete the cure. But in a short time the parents demanded their daughter back, and here we come upon one of the many instances in which the two accounts, the friendly and the unfriendly, differ irreconcilably. The parents said they had been deceived, that their daughter had been persuaded by Mesmer to *pretend that she could see*, and had not only taken them in, but even the physicians, which Mesmer declared to be an obvious and ridiculous lie; Mesmer refused to let her go, as he declared that unless she continued the treatment for some time longer she would have a relapse, and become blind again. The young woman wished to remain, and the authorities do not appear to have interfered. The father and mother, however, carried her off before the cure was complete, and it ended by her becoming totally blind again, or, if you will, by her ceasing to pretend any longer that she could see.*

We owe to Dr. Kerner another "flash-light" photograph, as it were, of Mesmer's operations, in the

* Some years afterwards a blind pianist of the same name gave performances in Paris, who was said to be the same person; and this Mesmer's enemies declared to be proof that she had never recovered her sight.

shape of the statement of Mlle. Paradis's father in reference to his daughter's recovery of sight, the original of which document Herr von Lassberg found among Mesmer's papers. Dr. Kerner says of Mlle. Paradis:—

"This young girl, who had become a famous and highly-accomplished pianoforte player, and who was a *protégée* of the Empress Maria-Theresa from her fourth year, according to the examination and belief of the most distinguished physicians of Vienna, had lost her eyesight from paralysis of the optic nerve. Having experienced the treatment and mis-treatment of numerous physicians, she was placed under the care of Mesmer, and recovered unquestionably—at least, for a short time—her eyesight through the use of his magnetic system."

The statement of the young lady's father is as follows:—

"After a brief but powerful treatment from Dr. Mesmer, Fraulein Paradis began to distinguish the outline of bodies and figures brought near to her. Her returning sense of vision was, however, so extremely sensitive that she could only recognise these objects in a room darkened by window-shutters and curtains. If a lighted candle were placed before her eyes, although they were bound with a cloth doubled five times, she would fall to the ground like one struck by lightning. The first human figure which she recognised was that of Dr. Mesmer. She observed with much attention his person and the various waving movements of his body which he made before her eyes as a test of her powers of sight. She appeared somewhat alarmed, and said, "That is terrible to behold! Is that the form of a human being?' At her request, a large dog, which was very tame and a favourite of hers, was brought before her. She observed him with great attention. 'This dog,' she said, 'pleases me better than man—at least his appearance is more endurable to me.' Especially was the nose on the human countenance repugnant to her. She could not restrain her laughter on seeing this feature. She thus expressed herself regarding noses: 'They seem to threaten me, as if they would bore my eyes out.' After seeing a great number of human countenances she became more reconciled to the nose. It cost her much trouble to distinguish colours and their names, and to calculate relative distances, her restored powers of vision being as inexperienced as that of a newly-born child. She was mistaken in the contrast existing between different colours, but she confused the names of the colours, and this especially when she was not led to

draw a contrast between the colours with which she was already familiar. Looking at black, she observed that that hue was the picture of her former state of blindness. The colour of black always excited in her a tendency towards melancholy—a condition, be it observed, to which she appeared predisposed during the course of her cure. She would frequently break forth into sudden weeping. Indeed, she was on one occasion seized with so violent a fit of despair that she flung herself upon a sofa, wrung her hands, tore off the bands from her eyes, drove everyone from her presence, and, in fact, midst cries and sobs, comported herself in such a manner that any great actress might have taken her as a model of dire melancholy and mental anguish.

"Within a few moments all was over, and she had regained her usual cheerful, pleasant frame of mind; only, however, within a short space again to fall back into her melancholy. A great concourse of relations, friends, and people of fashion, having presented themselves, owing to the report of the recovery of her sight which had been spread abroad, she was much annoyed. She once expressed herself to me as follows, regarding this annoyance:—'How comes it that I find myself much less happy now than formerly? Everything that I see causes me an unpleasant agitation. Ah! I was much quieter in my blindness.'

"I consoled her with the representation that her present agitation was only occasioned by her sensitiveness to the new spheres into which she had entered. The new condition into which she must feel transported by the recovery of her eyesight would necessarily occasion an agitation entirely novel to her. She would undoubtedly grow as calm and contented as other people when she once became accustomed to her gift of sight. She replied that this was well, because were she to experience continued agitation at the sight of fresh objects she would rather have returned into the state of her blindness. She repeatedly fainted when relatives or intimate friends were presented to her. The same thing occurred upon beholding the pictures of her two uncles, officers in the Imperial army, and towards whom she always entertained a warm affection. She stretched her hand over the picture in order to feel the features, but drew it back with surprise, her hand having glided over the smooth glass of the miniature. The high head-dresses worn by the ladies here, especially those *à la Matignon*, are not at all to her taste, although formerly, during her blindness, she wore with pleasure her hair dressed in the same style.

"According to her fancy, the new-fashioned style of head-dress is out of proportion with the size of the face; in which opinion she

is not far wrong. She asked a lady present to let her see her train, and how it appeared when she walked. But neither did she admire this fashion more than the head-dress. She says that this drapery swinging behind is heavy. Thus strange are her remarks when first seeing objects. Her newly awakened sensations place her in the first stage of natural existence; she judges without prejudice, and names objects from the natural impression which they make on her. She reads the characters of persons from their countenances with remarkable accuracy. The reflections in a mirror caused her great astonishment. She could not at all comprehend how the surface of a looking-glass should catch up objects and represent them to the eye. She was led into a splendid room where there was a very large mirror. She could not satisfy herself with looking into it at herself. She made the most extraordinary bends and attitudes before it. She laughed much, observing that the reflection of herself stepped towards her as she approached the mirror, and withdrew as she withdrew. All objects which she beholds at a certain distance appear small to her, and they increase in size to her perception as they approach her. When, with open eyes, she dips a rusk in chocolate and lifts it towards her mouth, it appears to her so greatly increased in size that she imagines that she cannot put it into her mouth.

"She was shown one evening, through the window, the star-bespangled heaven. She besought permission to go out into the garden, there freely to behold the sky. She was accompanied and led to the terrace of the garden. Here the spectator beheld a touching sight. She raised her hands in deep silence towards the glorious, gleaming heavens, probably uttering from the depths of her heart an ardent, silent thanksgiving. After a few moments she exclaimed, 'Oh, how earnestly do those stars gaze down upon me! Nothing in Nature can be more glorious than this! If nowhere else, an ardent impulse of worship towards the Highest were felt by the human soul, here, where I stand, surely it must be felt, beneath this shining canopy.' She was then shown the reservoir, which she called 'a large soup-plate.' The trellis walks appeared to walk along beside her, and upon her return to the house the building appeared to approach her. Its illuminated windows especially pleased her. On the following day, in order to satisfy her, she was again taken into the garden. She re-examined every object attentively, but not with so much pleasure as on the previous evening. She called the Danube, which flowed past the garden, a long, broad white stripe. She pointed out the places where she saw the river begin and end. She thought that with outstretched hands she could touch the trees growing in the so-called Prater-meadow, about a thousand steps on

the other side of the river. It being a bright day she could not long endure looking around the garden. She herself requested that her eyes might again be bound, as the sensation of light was too strong for her and occasioned dizziness. When she now had her eyes bandaged she did not trust herself to walk a single step without guidance, although formerly, in her blindness, she was used to move about confidently, without the assistance of anyone, in her well-known chamber. This new disturbance of her senses occasions her now to use reflection when playing the piano, whereas formerly she was accustomed to execute the most difficult pieces with the greatest accuracy, conversing at the same time with those who stood around her. With open eyes it is now difficult for her to play any piece. If her eyes are open she regards her fingers as they slip about over the piano, and misses, however, the greater number of the keys."

It was the treatment that Mesmer received on account of this patient that determined him to leave Vienna, and the case of Mlle. Paradis has always been put forward by his enemies as a typical instance of fraud and charlatanism on his part, for it was industriously reported, and believed, that the recovery of eye-sight never took place, but was a hocus-pocus carried out by Mesmer. The discovery of the foregoing testimony, in the hand-writing of the young lady's father, puts an end to all possible doubt in the matter and completely bears out the account of the incident published by Mesmer soon after it occurred; and as the treatment which Mesmer received in France was on a par with that accorded to him in Vienna, it will help us to understand what that treatment was if we listen to what Mesmer himself says about this case. Even allowing for some inaccuracies in the narrative, the way in which Mesmer says he was treated resembles too closely the treatment which he and other magnetisers experienced from the Faculty and from the enemies of Magnetism on a hundred other occasions to leave room for doubt about its substantial truthfulness. Mesmer wrote :—

"The blindness of the young girl named Paradis was undeniably proved. I procured her the power of sight. A thousand witnesses, and amongst them various physicians—Herr von Stoerk himself, in company with the second president of the Faculty, at the head of the deputies of the Society—came and witnessed the fact, and did homage to the truth. The father of Fraulein Paradis then considered it his duty to exhibit his gratitude before the whole of Europe. He had the most important particulars of this case published in the newspapers. Who would have thought it possible to deny so publicly acknowledged an event? Nevertheless, Herr Barth, the Professor of Anatomy, who especially devoted himself to the study of diseases of the eye, and to cataract, sought to pronounce the cure an invention, and succeeded in his scheme with the public. Twice in my house he had declared that Fraulein Paradis could see, and yet was not ashamed afterwards, in public, to maintain that she 'was still quite blind, he had convinced himself of that fact'; one proof of this being 'that she often did not know the names of the things that lay before her'; often 'mistook one for another'; although he might easily have explained this simple and unavoidable occurrence, so frequently to be observed in the case of those who have been born blind or have become blind in early infancy.

"Herr Ingenhaus and Father Hell had now an assistant in their intrigues against me. I did not trouble myself greatly since the facts of the case showed, in the most striking manner, the extravagance of their pretences. But how little was I then aware of the inexhaustible means which envy has at its command! They united together in order to get Fraulein Paradis out of my hands whilst her sight was still weak, in order to prevent her being presented to His Imperial Majesty; and thus their pretext was that my whole pretentious cure had been only a deception, in order to obtain entire faith. To attain their purpose it was needful to excite the anger of Herr Paradis, through fear lest he should lose the pension which he received on account of his blind daughter. Thus they advised him to remove his daughter out of my hands. He endeavoured to bring this object about, first of all by himself, afterwards through the concurrence of his wife. The daughter herself desired no such thing, and through her resistance drew evil treatment upon herself. Her father wished to remove her by violence, and entered my house like a madman, sword in hand. Her raging father was disarmed, but mother and daughter fell fainting at my feet, the first from rage, the latter owing to her barbarous mother having kicked her head against a wall. I dismissed the mother after a few hours; but I remained in great anxiety regarding the daughter. Paralysis, vomiting, delirium, followed each other in rapid succession; yes, she

even became once more blind. I was alarmed lest she should lose her life or her reason. I thought not of revenge for my own injuries; I neglected to avail myself of judicial redress; I only sought to save the unhappy one who had remained under my roof.

"Herr Paradis, supported by those who were his instigators, shrieked through all Vienna. I became the object of the most preposterous calumnies; even the good-natured Herr von Stoerk was so completely worked upon that he commanded me to deliver Fraulein Paradis up to her parents. However, she was in no condition to be removed, and she remained still a month in my house. During the first fortnight of her stay, I was so fortunate as to restore her sight to the condition in which it had been previous to this uproar; in the last fortnight I had instructed her what to do in order to strengthen her health and to perfect the use of her eyes.

"The excuses and warm thanks of Herr Paradis, which his wife brought to mine; the voluntary promise that they would send their daughter to my house whenever her health rendered that necessary: all this was—untruth! Nevertheless, I was deceived by the appearance of honesty. I was quite willing that Fraulein Paradis should enjoy the air of the country; but I had seen her face for the last time.

"It was an important part of the system of these avaricious parents that their unfortunate child should become blind again, or, at all events, appear to be so; and to preserve this condition they spared no trouble. It had been insinuated to her parents that so soon as their daughter regained her sight they would lose the pension which they yearly received from the Empress for her, and which had been granted on account of her blindness. Thus it was that Herr Ingenhaus and his accomplices achieved their conquest."

Mesmer in Paris.

After that, Mesmer shook the dust of Vienna off his feet, and went to Paris, where he found that his reputation had preceded him; for when he arrived everyone there was on the tip-toe of expectation. Soon after he came, M. Leroi, President of the Academy o Sciences, who was inclined to be friendly, proposed to him to show the usefulness of his discovery by curing a number of patients,* but Mesmer refused,

* To be selected by a Committee of the Royal Society of Medicine (composed of Drs. Daubenton, Desperriers, Mauduyt, Andry, Tessier, and Vicq d'Azyr).

because, he said, experience had proved to him how little the remarkable cures had done for his "cause" in Vienna: and because his object was to induce the Faculty to try his system for themselves, not to set himself up in opposition to them, as he found he had unfortuately done in Vienna. He wrote to M. Leroi :—

"My principal object is to demonstrate the existence of a physical agent hitherto unobserved, and not to array against my discoveries medical men, whose personal interests would necessarily induce them to injure my cause, and even my person. It is as a natural philosopher myself, and not as a physician, that I call on you, men of science, requesting you to examine natural phenomena, and to pronounce on my system."

Still, to cure a number of selected cases was just what Mesmer desired, but he wished to do so in conjunction with the Faculty, and under the auspices of some body, scientific or medical, whose verdict would be accepted as authoritative by the community, and would have an influence on the action of the Government. He therefore made a counter-proposition, that twenty patients should be selected by the Committee of Royal Society of Medicine, comprising cases of all kinds, equally severe; and that half of these should be treated by the Faculty in the orthodox way, and the other half by him; the division to be made by lot. Neither the Academy of Sciences nor the Royal Society of Medicine would listen to this proposition.* Other friends, however, urged Mesmer to adopt the course suggested by Leroi, but he still hesitated, until one day Leroi told him that although in his opinion the effects he produced were real, they were due to nothing but the imagination of the patient. To this Mesmer replied that imagination might account for effects which

* This offer was repeated more than once by De Puységur, and always refused.

were only felt by the patient, but that it was absurd to attribute to such a cause effects which were visible to others. That "puerile objection," as he termed it, determined him, however, to undertake some treatments.

So, in May, 1778, he chose several bad cases, and took them to his establishment at Creteil, six miles from Paris, and applied to the Royal Society of Medicine to examine and certify them. The Society sent two doctors for that purpose, who declined to report, because all the diseases chosen (epilepsy, paralysis, blindness, deafness) might, they said, be feigned. Mesmer then addressed Monsieur Viq d'Azyr, the Secretary of the Royal Society of Medicine, asking leave to present his patients before the whole Society for certification, "for men who thus (like the two doctors who refused to report) doubted their own ability to ascertain the truth of a disease, would doubt still more when requested to pronounce on restoration to health"; and at the same time he enclosed the certificates of independent members of the Faculty to the reality of the diseases of his patients. The application was refused, and the certificates returned unopened. Mesmer then wrote again to Monsieur Vicq d'Azyr, saying that he would proceed with the cures, and hoping that, when the time came, the Society would not refuse to take cognisance of them. In August, Mesmer wrote to Mons. Leroi that his patients were almost ready for inspection, but the President of the Academy of Sciences took no notice. He then wrote to Monsieur Vicq d'Azyr, requesting the Royal Society of Medicine to examine his patients now; this was curtly refused. Mesmer then published

the sworn statements of his patients, and of his witnesses.

In order to understand what kind of cures they were that Mesmer and his disciples effected, and which the Faculty of his day refused to examine, and the Faculty of our day complacently ignores, I may quote from one of those sworn accounts. Ch. du Hussay, Major of Infantry, and Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, after explaining how the hardships of the campaign in Holland, and a typhus fever in the Indies, had completely broken his health, ending in general paralysis, continues :—

"After four years of useless experiments and the constant attendance of eminent physicians, among whom I can name several members of the Royal Society of Medicine of Paris, who personally know me and my case, I consented, as a last resort, to accept the proposition of Dr. Mesmer to try the proceedings of a method hitherto unknown. When I arrived at his establishment my head was constantly shaking, my neck was bent forward, my eyes were protruding from their sockets and greatly inflamed, my tongue was paralysed, and it was with the utmost difficulty that I could speak ; a perpetual and involuntary laugh distorted my mouth, my cheeks and nose were of a red purple, my respiration was very much embarrassed, and I suffered a constant pain between the shoulders ; all my body trembled, and my legs tottered most awkwardly. In a word, my gait was that of an old drunkard, rather than that of a man of forty. I know nothing about the nature of the means resorted to by Dr. Mesmer ; but that which I can say with the greatest truth is that without using any kind of drugs, or other remedy than 'Animal Magnetism,' as he calls it, he made me feel the most extraordinary sensations from head to foot. I experienced a crisis characterised by a cold so intense that it seemed to me that ice was coming out of my limbs ; this was followed by a great heat, and a perspiration of a very fetid nature, and so abundant at times as to cause my mattress to be wet through. The crisis lasted over a month ; since that time I have rapidly recovered, and now after about four months I stand erect and easy, my head is firm and upright, my tongue moves very well, and I speak as well as any one, my nose and cheeks are natural, my colour announces my age and good health, my respiration is free, my chest has expanded, I feel no

pain whatever, my limbs are steady and vigorous, I walk very quickly, without care and with ease, my digestion and appetite are excellent; in a word, I am perfectly free from all infirmities.

"I certify that this statement is in every particular conformable to truth. Given under my hand and seal, at Paris, the 28th of August, 1778.

(Signed.) CH. DU HUSSAY, &c."

Dr. Deslon, a court physician, and warm partisan of Mesmer, persuaded him to make another effort to gain the attention of the Royal Society of Medicine, but only three of its members consented to examine the six new cases he treated. They did not deny the cures, but would not certify them as conclusive, "because Nature often cures without the help of man." Mesmer then begged these three doctors (Bertram, Maloët, and Sollier) to select some patients themselves, but they refused on the pretext that as they could not be present during the months of treatment, they could not be sure that the usual medicines were not given. Soon after this Dr. Deslon brought Mesmer's famous "Twenty-seven Propositions," in which he summarises his ideas, before the Royal Society of Medicine, the result being that the meeting came to an "immediate decision" (Sept. 18th, 1780), which rejected them "in full," and pronounced a decree depriving any "docteur-regent" (corresponding to our M.D.) of his diploma who advocated or practised Animal Magnetism. This decree was put in force against thirty-three members of the Faculty, but not enforced against Dr. Deslon, who defied the Society.*

* At the sitting Deslon was separately reprimanded, suspended for a year from voting at the meetings of the Society, and threatened with loss of his diploma in a year's time if he did not in the mean-time abjure Animal Magnetism. Deslon laughed at this decree, and the meeting necessary to confirm it before it became valid was never held.

Mesmer, disgusted and disappointed, determined to leave France.* He has left it on record how astonished he was that men of science should refuse to welcome new and extraordinary facts, containing the promise of so much benefit to humanity. He fixed the middle of April, 1781, for his departure. Thereupon M. de Maurepas, the Minister (it was said, at the instigation of the Queen, who seems to have been much interested in the subject) opened negotiations with him to induce him to remain in France, and teach his system publicly, which he had so far refused to do until its value had been recognised by some authority whose weight would obtain acceptance for it, and relieve him from the position of an antagonist of the Faculty. At a long conference it was agreed between M. de Maurepas and Mesmer that a certain large house and grounds should be given to him for an establishment for his patients, and a pension of 20,000 francs a year for himself, on condition that he treated cases, and taught the doctors, and agreed not to leave France without the permission of the King until he had established his system. Some weeks after Mesmer had another visit from the Minister, proposing certain alterations in the agreement: a sum of 10,000 francs was substituted for the proposed property, with which insignificant sum Mesmer was to provide an establishment for his patients; his own pension, however, was to remain the same, but the ratification of the agreement was to be

* Every kind of trap was set for Mesmer; for instance, a Mons. Portal, a well-known doctor in Paris, went to him, and feigned the symptoms of a disease, and gave him a fictitious history of it, and after being operated upon magnetically pronounced himself cured. Then he published an account of how he took in Mesmer, declaring that his allowing himself to be duped showed his ignorance, and, at the same time, the folly of Animal Magnetism.

left to the decision of his pupils, some of whom were to be appointed by the Government, and who were to pronounce upon the value of the system. Mesmer refused these conditions. In the first place, he said that he required a commodious place, where his patients could be attended properly; he wrote: "My intentions when I came to France were not to make my fortune, but to secure for my discovery the unqualified approval of the most scientific men of this age. And I will accept no reward so long as I have not obtained this approval; for fame, and the glory of having discovered the most important truth for the benefit of humanity, are dearer to me than riches." In the second place, it seemed to him "contradictory and impossible" that he should be judged by his pupils: "What if Doctors Laffone, Maloët, and Sollier, were to be sent to me as pupils?" he asked. His pupils could give no authoritative pronouncement on his discovery, which was what he desired. Mesmer then wrote a long and curious letter to the Queen, in which he justifies his refusal to accept the Government's conditions, and says that he had had offers of large sums of money from private individuals if he would remain in France.* Soon afterwards he left France and went to reside in Spa.

One reason why Mesmer insisted upon a commodious establishment for his patients was that he might not be obliged to use the *baquet*, but could then treat each patient separately. Many of those who flocked to the public *baquets* when Magnetism became the rage in Paris, went, not because they were ill, but for the sake of excitement, and Mesmer, in all proba-

* Mesmer told the Queen in his letter "that a great nation ought to receive a great discovery in a suitable manner."

bility, foresaw the scandals connected with the *baquet* which broke out later on when he had left Paris. Those scandals took the form of attributing moral effects to the *baquet*. It was said that the moral effect of the *baquet* depended upon which side of the apparatus a person connected himself with. The North and West aspects of the "moral *baquet*" made you virtuous, the South and West sides made you vicious. Due North, it was said, cured avarice, lying, and idleness; North-West cured hypocrisy, cowardice, and ingratitude; West cured pride, anger, and jealousy. There were even special *baquets* for particular virtues or vices, a *baquet* that promoted benevolence, a *baquet* that prevented envy, and so on. Those moral effects we can now suppose to have sometimes been real, being due to hypnotic suggestion; but at the time they were regarded by all serious magnetisers as pernicious and scandalous nonsense.* Had the public been content to cultivate the virtues in that way no great harm would have been done, but it is said that meetings took place in which the participants did not always connect themselves with the moral side of the *baquet*, and as both sexes took part in the sittings, it was inevitable that scandals should arise, which scandals, it was said by some, were the immediate cause of the appointment of the Royal Commission to investigate the subject of Animal Magnetism.

A good deal of misapprehension still exists with regard to the Commission of 1784, appointed by the King to examine into Animal Magnetism. In the first

* Deleuze, however, mentions a M.N.... a Government official, whose *baquet* produced no excitement, but excellent moral effects. He was denounced as in league with the devil, and threatened with the loss of his place, so he dismembered his *baquet*.

place, it was Deslon who was instrumental in getting it appointed, and it was at his establishment that most of the sittings took place, and where the Commissioners saw the *baquet*; and Deslon and Mesmer had differences and disputes before that time in several matters, one of them being that Mesmer altogether denied that imagination had anything to say to his cures, and Deslon attributed considerable effect to it. Mesmer did not think Deslon competent to set forth his theory, or to conduct the experiments before the Commissioners, and he protested against his system being judged by an inadequate representation of it, which he thought would end badly. It is said that he returned to Paris to take the management of the proceedings, but this was refused. Although Mesmer had called on the Royal Society of Medicine to examine and pronounce on his system, he had all along objected to what was technically known as a "Commission" of that body; for that was an institution for granting "*brevets*" or permissions to sell what we would call "patent medicines"; and a sample had to be sent for analysis, which was kept sealed up afterwards, and the constituents of the powder or unguent never made public. This was not what Mesmer desired. He had no sample to send in; the Commission pronounced no authoritative opinion on the merits of the inventions it passed; and Mesmer had no wish that his discovery, if judged important, should be kept secret. To propose such a thing seemed to him an insult, and although the Royal Commission was a different thing, consisting, as it did, of a contingent from the Academy of Sciences, and another from the Royal Society of Medicine (who sent in

independent reports) and a few other members added afterwards, still Mesmer objected, under the circumstances I have stated, to be judged by it, and protested against its Report as quite misleading.* That report was taken to be a refutation of the claims of Animal Magnetism, and is still believed generally to be so; but, if examined, it is found to have avoided the main issue—whether Mesmer had discovered a new means for curing disease—and to have confined itself to the theoretical question, whether or not there exists a universal medium such as Mesmer described, and whether the curious effects which no one denied that the process of Mesmer produced, were caused by it.†

It would be unbelievable if it were not stated in the Report itself, that the Commissioners refused to examine the curative effects of Magnetism, "because they had no moral certitude that Magnetism alone was employed; and because if there were a few cures they ought to be attributed to exercise, to the cessation of

* Three Reports were published in August, 1784, within a few days of each other. The Report of the Faculty of Medicine of the Academy of Sciences (Bailly's Report), containing 66 pages 4$^{to.}$; the Report of the Royal Society of Medicine, 39 pages 4$^{to.}$; and a third Report "by one of the Commissioners" (de Jussieu). The two first are always "read together," and spoken of as "the Report of the Royal Commission of 1784." De Puységur, in his "Memoire pour Servir, etc.," speaks of another Commission, about to be appointed by the Parliament of Paris, and hopes that Mesmer himself will be present; but it apparently fell through.

† Galard de Montjove, in his "Lettre sur le Magnetism," shows that Mesmer's principles are the same as those defended by Bailly in his "History of Astronomy," and points out that all the experiments made by the Commissioners were aimed at disproving the existence of Animal Magnetism. Deleuze said that the Commissioners refused to examine the cases of magnetic treatment of disease, as they previously agreed with M. Deslon to do; but confined themselves to observing trivial experimental effects, and to attempting to produce those effects themselves, which was impossible, for they had neither will nor belief.

medicines, and to the hope of being cured." Hardly less incredible it seems that the Commissioners refused to consider phenomena with which they were not familiar; but the Report says, "We determined not to fix our attention on the rare, unsolicited, extraordinary cases which seemed to contradict all the known laws of physics." Yet each one of the Commissioners must be recognised as a competent and honourable man (Benjamin Franklin was a member of it, but was ill at the time, and did not attend the sittings), and it is impossible to attribute their signally inadequate and unfair examination of Animal Magnetism to anything but blind prejudice.* The conclusions they reached are thus summed up in the Report, and although those conclusions were then declared to be damning to Mesmer, they might serve as a kind of Charter for a great many of the hypnotists of to-day :—

"That which we have learned, or, at least, that which has been proved to us in a clear and satisfactory manner, by the examination of the process of Magnetism, is that man can act upon man at any time, and almost at will by striking his imagination; that the simplest gestures and signs can have the most powerful effects; and that the action of man upon the imagination may be reduced to an art, and conducted with method, upon subjects who have faith."†

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* Deleuze and other Magnetisers have noticed the difficulty which men of science experience in candidly investigating Magnetism. Deleuze says that pride and vanity combine to prevent them from a candid and thorough investigation, and the inquiry is for them along unaccustomed lines; that they are very much afraid of each other and dread the accusation of credulity; that, moreover, they have been confirmed in some particular system, and feel themselves bound to defend it against all comers.

† When the Report of the Commissioners was published, the Royal Academy of Medicine decreed (August 24th, 1784) that no doctor should declare himself a partisan of the pretended Animal Magnetism, either by his writings or his practice, under penalty of being deprived of his diploma of Docteur-regent. It was

The Commissioners also declared that no such thing as Animal Magnetism exists;* which was only to be expected, for they shut out the appropriate means of proof, and tested for it as if it were a simple and constant force like terrestrial magnetism or electricity.† De Jussieu, the learned botanist, sent in a second or "minority" Report, favourable to Mesmer's ideas, although strong influence, it is said, was used to prevent him, including that of a "powerful minister"; he thought that there was evidence of the existence of a universal medium, and of the mysterious action of man on man, but considered that medium to be rather of the nature of heat than of magnetism. We find that many who were accounted enemies of Animal Magnetism fully accepted the phenomena and tried to account for them on other grounds. For instance, a certain Dr. Virey made an attack on Animal Magnetism

worded after this fashion: "Forgetting their oaths and the conduct proper for a medical man, they have enrolled themselves in a new militia of charlatans, who, deceiving the credulous by the vain hope of being cured by them, set traps for the good morals, for the health, and for the possessions of the citizens." Dr. Varnier appealed to the Parliament of Paris to set aside this decree of the Royal Society of Medicine, but that body refused to interfere.

* The Royal Society of Medicine, nevertheless, next year (1785) invited foreign and provincial doctors to make observations on Animal Magnetism, and to send these into it. There were over a hundred doctors in the French provinces at that time who had established regular magnetic practices, and many others who were trying it; but of all the communications received the Royal Society, of Medicine only published those that opposed Magnetism.

† Deleuze says that the enemies of Mesmerism are fond of the argument of the "chose jugée"; but that the weakness of that argument lies in the fact that further knowledge may re-open the case. Many people, he says, believed in the movement of the earth round the sun in the days of Pythagoras, but the theory was abandoned, and that fact was one of the arguments which Galelio encountered. The ancients believed that stones fell from the sky, but "science" exploded that belief, by showing that there were no stones in the sky—"a piece of nonsense which it took renewed observation and chemical analysis all they could do to disperse."

in an article in the "Dictionaire des Sci. Med.," which was answered by Deleuze. Dr. Virey's argument was that the facts which the magnetisers affirmed are true, but proceeded from a cause different from that to which they attribute them. He recognized three constituents of man: body, vital principle, and soul. "In order to act upon the body, the soul makes use of a vital principle or nervous fluid, which is capable of impressing motion and sensation on our organs. . . . The sensitive element is not of the same nature as thought; it is secreted in the brain; it descends into the nerves; it exhausts itself, and is renewed. . . An animal is a fountain of life; it loses some part every day, and it extracts a fresh portion from the surrounding bodies. We never live more energetically than when diffusing the vital principle outwards." Virey thought that the vital principle organises the fœtus, regulates organic life, and cures diseases, and that the last is "not an acquired science, but an innate faculty."

Although Mesmer failed to obtain recognition from Royal Societies and Academies of Sciences,* the facts spoke for themselves, and the number of his adherents increased rapidly in European countries (except, perhaps, England).† Associations called "Societies of Harmony," composed in a large part of

* In 1775 Mesmer had sent a circular letter to all the Academies of Europe embodying his twenty-seven Propositions. Only Berlin took any notice of it, and that was to tell him that he was a visionary. In 1781 he sent six or seven copies of his "Precis Historique" to each of a large number of Academies and Royal Societies in Europe and the United States (over 300 copies in all) but no notice was taken of these.

† In his "Observations on the Report of the Commissioners" (1784) Deslon says that Mesmer had then 300 pupils, and he himself had 60, among whom were 21 members of the Faculty of Medicine of Paris.

physicians themselves, sprang up in many localities, whose object was the spread of the new ideas, and to them Mesmer looked for the triumph of Animal Magnetism. The Societies, however, were swept away by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, and although Mesmer lived until 1815, his theories and practices had by that time been superseded by those of his disciples, who are still spoken of as "the great magnetisers."

Mesmer's Later Life.

The movements of Mesmer after he left Paris in 1781 are rather vaguely known. It is commonly believed that he then retired into obscurity, confessing himself a beaten man. This, however, was by no means the case. He did not remain long in Spa, but returned to Paris, where he is known to have been in residence from time to time, busied with an unostentatious propaganda of his system. According to Kerner, the "Societes d'Harmonie" were in the first instance Mesmer's idea, although they afterwards became the chief means by which the new school of magnetisers which was founded, or at least headed, by De Puységur, carried on its contest with Mesmer's theory and practice of Animal Magnetism. An attorney named Bergasse was one of Mesmer's patients who followed him to Spa, and when he was cured Bergasse became an ardent disciple; and he and Kornmann, a banker, busied themselves to make Mesmer financially able to carry on a successful propaganda. It is often said that Mesmer was avaricious; but that accusation is not only totally contrary to the character which his contemporaries gave him, but also it is incompatible

with the fact that he had in early life married a rich woman, and that he was always well and willingly paid by the rich who applied for his services. We never find Mesmer in want of funds for his personal needs, but always hear of him as spending money, often with a lavish hand, for the spread of his ideas; and he always treated the poor gratuitously. He opened a free treatment in the Rue Coq-Heron, in Paris, an account of which was published by Dr. Girauld; and Deleuze says that "those who knew Mesmer testify to his goodness of heart; he gave the same care to the poor and to the rich; and being of service was his greatest pleasure." It is no doubt because the "business" spirit—the eagerness to make a fortune—has invaded all professions now-a-days, that the doctors find it so difficult to believe in the pecuniary disinterestedness of a member of their own profession, even when he was animated by an intense enthusiasm. Dr. Kerner makes mention of these matters thus:—

"Believers in the truth of Mesmer's views induced his most zealous friend, Bergasse, to issue an appeal with reference to Mesmer's discovery in the French Provinces. A copy of the appeal was found among Mesmer's papers, and in it Bergasse observes, that he was compelled to put it forth, 'in order to protect a shamefully persecuted man from the fate prepared for him by the blind hatred of his enemies.' Bergasse called upon the believers in the discovery to form societies for the practical carrying out of the Mesmeric theory. This scheme was put into execution; and with such results, that in the French Provinces more than half-a-million francs was subscribed. This money was applied by Mesmer to the establishment of places for magnetic healing. The sick people whose confidence led them into these establishments received until their recovery all attention gratis The intention of the establishment of these schools was that the managers of them, who had been instructed by Mesmer himself, should there exercise their power, and be enabled to

watch its effects, and preserve it from extraneous influences. About twenty of such schools were soon established in the most important French towns. They termed themselves 'the Society of Harmony.' But all this was carried out amidst the most horrible outcries and enmity of the medical schools of the metropolis, which expelled any of their members who dared to express themselves in any degree favourable to Mesmer's doctrine. Nevertheless, Mesmer was recompensed by the fact that during ten years he was enabled to work for the benefit of suffering humanity, and frequently with the most splendid success."

There can be little doubt that it was neither disappointment at the ingratitude of mankind, nor the despair of an exposed charlatan, as his friends and enemies respectively declare, that led Mesmer finally to retire from the battle; but the overturning of everything in France by the Revolution, which upset so many other people's plans and expectations. Dr. Kerner says:—

"In that great political change which befell France, Mesmer beheld his scarcely germinating institutions destroyed. His dearest friends and followers were some of them outlawed, while others fell beneath the axe of the guillotine; and Mesmer himself was forced, in order to avoid a similar fate, to fly from Paris. He fled at first, it appears, to the frontier of Switzerland. To Paris, however, he returned again when the first storm had passed over, probably led thither for the purpose of gathering together the wreck of his considerable fortune."

During the ten years that Kerner alludes to, Mesmer's ideas had acquired a foothold in Germany. Bremen, thanks chiefly to Lavater, had already become a strong centre of Animal Magnetism before the Report of the Royal Commissioners was issued, and although the group of celebrated physicians who had taken it up there and elsewhere in Germany perceived clearly enough the futility of that Report, it had nevertheless an effect on them that was disastrous as far as Mesmer's personality was con-

cerned, and the name "Animal Magnetism." This point is so important as bearing on the credit of Mesmer, and upon the truth of his ideas, that I feel sure the hypnotists, to whom I desire to give every credit for wishing to be fair, will thank me for quoting what Dr. Kerner says about it; for none of their "authorities" show the least knowledge of these facts.

"The circulation through Germany of the unfavourable opinion passed by the French Academy upon Mesmer's discovery, damaged Mesmer's reputation immensely; for especially in that age did Germany, not alone as regards dress and manners, but also in matters of opinion, follow the French nation with a pitifully servile imitation. Thus the opinions of a body of men, supposed by their learning and wisdom to be able to embrace and comprehend the whole of the laws of the world, was regarded by Germany as the utterance of an oracle. This feeling existed to so great an extent that no one dared to defend Magnetism through the terror of being calumniated. The very name of Animal Magnetism was tabooed. Dr. Eberhard Gmelin, of Heilbronn, a contemporary of Mesmer, an intellectual investigator of his discovery, and to whom we owe the possession of six volumes of conscientiously recorded experiences, and much valuable theoretical matter regarding Magnetism, already in 1787, has said in one of his volumes that he would willingly entitle his magnetic researches, "Experiments in the Power possessed by Human Nature through the Means of Living Human Touch," owing to the unconquerable objection in the public mind to the term Animal Magnetism."

Gmelin was a physician and physiologist of the highest standing in Germany, and he and Wienholt, another physician and physiologist of almost equal credit, succeeded in creating a great interest in Animal Magnetism throughout Germany, generally under some other name, such as "Anthropology," or "Life-magnetism." Kerner gives a long list of these men of standing in the scientific and philosophical world who followed the lead of Gmelin and Wienholt, and says:—

"It is especially through the above-named men that Mesmer's discovery enjoyed a triumph, already before the death of Mesmer; although at a period when he was entirely forgotten . . Nevertheless, it is almost inconceivable that during all these years of the progress of magnetic enquiry, personally, Mesmer should have been forgotten, and not alone by his opponents, but by those who honoured and practised his doctrine. Throughout the numerous writings of Gmelin and Wienholt upon Animal Magnetism, between the years 1787 and 1805, you may seek in vain for the name of Mesmer. And with other writers it is the same. They well knew what persecution and contempt Mesmer had drawn upon himself by the expression of opinions which were the same as their own; nevertheless, nowhere throughout these writings does one meet with one single expression of sympathy with Mesmer: nowhere a defence of him. Not one of these writers took the trouble to search out the discoverer of that power of nature which they were themselves thus developing and defending, in order to become personally acquainted with him: to know what kind of a man he was: to hear from his own mouth an explanation of his theory: to learn from himself the practical part of his doctrine: to be shown by himself his magnetic manipulation: in short, to drink of the knowledge which they sought at its very fountain head."

During the greater portion of his later life, Mesmer lived in complete retirement at Frauenfeld, from whence he removed to Constance, and in 1814 he went to live at a farmhouse of a small proprietor or "peasant" in the village of Reidetswiller. He was often importuned by his friends to return to Paris, where his ideas were being, it was urged, misrepresented, but he always refused. He had lost most of his fortune, and all of his papers during the Revolution, and his former treatment at Paris did not encourage him to begin the fight all over again. He did not long remain at the farmhouse, but removed to Meersburg, where many of his relations lived. There, as elsewhere, Mesmer devoted himself to the service of the poor, by whom he was

regarded almost as a father. Of the learned world few visited him, but amongst the few were Wolfart of Berlin, who was sent to learn his system, as Mesmer refused to go to Berlin, between whom and Mesmer a sincere friendship sprang up;* and the Prince Bishop Dalberg, who had been his bitter opponent, but turned into a devoted friend. Dr. Kerner gives some interesting particulars about the latter days of Mesmer, from which I may be permitted to quote :—

"Mesmer did not possess a garden, nevertheless he was a great lover of flowers, which he cultivated in his room. He kept a horse and light carriage, in which he drove out daily. Probably owing to the infirmity already referred to (disease of the bladder) he was rarely seen on foot. He exhibited towards his horse, as well as to all animals, and especially towards birds, a great affection. Probably through his powerful magnetic influence, he possessed the faculty of taming and attracting animals towards himself. It is related that whenever Mesmer visited the island of Mainau—where it is known that formerly a considerable number of canaries dwelt, being prevented by the wide expanse of water from escaping from the island—these birds would fly to the shrubs round Mesmer, and would only settle when and where the wonder-worker took his seat. One of these canaries from the island of Mainau was Mesmer's companion at Meersburg until his death; its abode being an open cage in Mesmer's chamber. Every morning early the bird would fly forth, perch upon Mesmer's head while he slept, and awaken him with its song; nor would the bird allow its friend any peace until he arose, dressed himself, and

* When Mesmer refused to go to Berlin, pleading old age and infirmity, the King of Prussia sent Wolfart to him. When Wolfart returned with a knowledge of Mesmer's system the King appointed him Professor of Mesmerism in the Academy of Berlin; and founded an hospital of 300 beds, where only Magnetism was used; Wolfart being at the head. Soon afterwards, the Swedish Government sent Mons. de Cederschoeld to study under Wolfart; the Russian Government similarly sent Mons. de Stoffregen, physician to the Emperor, to Wolfart; and the Austrian Government sent Mons. Malfatti, also an Imperial physician.

placed himself at the breakfast table. . . . A slight stroke from Mesmer's hand would throw the bird into a sleep as if it were dead, whilst a stroke the reverse way of the feathers would awaken it. Mesmer, like the bird, was accustomed to retire early to rest, usually about the hour of eight, and whilst he prepared for sleep the bird would thrust its head beneath its wing.

Mesmer was greatly interested in observing the instinct in animals, which in man comes out only in the somnambulic state and in dreams. In his old age he took but little interest in books, or in general literature, although the political affairs of Europe greatly interested him. He spent much time in re-writing various manuscripts which had been destroyed in Paris. Of his love of music, Wolfart wrote:—

"Mesmer was accustomed when supper was over, after a little repose, and when twilight was gathered, to play upon his beloved harmonica—when all around and within seemed to him harmonious. As his playing became more and more animated, and the tones drawn forth by his hand became more intense, he would accompany the music with his voice, singing in a low tone, and guiding his fingers by the modulation of his voice, which even now, in old age, was a very agreeable tenor. Thus his soul entered into the music, and such a harmony of the spheres as was this music I have never since heard. I may mention that Mesmer, when residing in Paris, was intimately acquainted with Gluck, and that he frequently inspired him by thus playing on his harmonica, and was made by him to promise that he would never play otherwise upon these musical bells than thus improvising without notes or art."

Mesmer was remarkably temperate, both in eating and drinking. He thought that man was different from the lower animals in that he required a variety of food, whereas they thrive upon one article. In his old age, Mesmer, if not occupied in driving about, in writing, or in attending to sick people, employed himself in modelling or in drawing, for both of which he

had considerable talent. Kerner ends his account of Mesmer thus:—

On the 20th of February, 1815, Mesmer felt unwell, and did not visit the Casino, as he was accustomed to do upon the Sunday. The following day he was not worse, but gradually his illness increased, and upon the 5th of March, feeling his end approaching, he begged that his friend, the young priest, Fessler, might be sent for, to play to him upon the harmonica while he departed. Before his friend arrived, however, Mesmer, smiling, fell asleep in this world, seemingly filled with a presentiment of an unending, all musical, divine harmony awaiting his soul beyond the grave. As if still alive, the body lay untouched till morning, but the canary did not, as usual, fly forth from its cage to perch upon his head to awake him. The bird neither sang nor ate any more, and very shortly afterwards was found dead in its cage. According to Mesmer's desire, his body was opened and the seat of his disease discovered. Mesmer had left it in his will that, being without worldly titles and honours, he should be interred very simply, as though he were any other common man; but the inhabitants of Meersburg determined otherwise. Both the clergy and the citizens gave this great benefactor of the human race a ceremonious funeral, whilst numbers, who were indebted to him for health and life, followed the procession. His young friend, Fessler, spoke the funeral oration above his grave, in the beautiful graveyard of Meersburg, where, subsequently, as we have seen, a monument was erected to him by his Berlin admirers and disciples."

It is evident that there are three very different things to be considered when we think of Mesmer; his theories; his conflict with the Faculty; and the effects which his processes produced, especially in the case of those who were diseased. As to his theories, it is safe to say that they have not as yet received attention, for the Royal Commissioners did not make any pretence of considering them, and probably never understood what they were, but confined themselves to the one question of the existence of a "fluid" called Animal Magnetism; and since Mesmer's day they have never

* A new monument was placed over Mesmer's grave in May ast (May, 1902) by a number of professional Magnetisers.

been seriously put forward. Those theories bear a strong resemblance not only to the speculations of antecedent philosophy, but also to some of the conjectures of modern science, and it is quite possible that they may some day be revived (though probably under some other name) when we learn a little more.*

As to Mesmer's battle with the Faculty, no doubt the Faculty got the best of it; but the Magnetisers were never stamped out, and they even yet refuse to believe that they were beaten; and Animal Magnetism has ever since Mesmer's time been cropping up in one form or another, and is at present, under the name of Hypnotism, more strongly and firmly entrenched than it was before. The Report of the Commissioners left the matter where it was before, and all who were unprejudiced saw that it did so; the many able replies to it that were published all served to make it more widely known; and Mesmer's pupils and disciples ignored the Report, and spread the doctrine of Mesmer all over the world.† For many years, for instance, a pupil of Mesmer's, a Dr. de Mainauduc, had a large and lucrative practice in Bristol, and afterwards in London.‡ As to

* As was said in more than one of the many answers to the Commissioners' Report, it was Deslon's theories and methods, not Mesmer's, that they examined.

† Deleuze even considers that the Report did good to Magnetism by causing Magnetisers to give up outlandish apparatus, to guard against imaginaton, to carefully avoid convulsions, to no longer associate facts with theory, to cease to endeavour to explain the whole of Nature by that theory, to set to work to collect facts, and then to examine these facts coolly, and to confine their efforts to seconding Nature in her attempts to cure.

‡ Dr. George Winter, in his "History of Magnetism" (1801), says that Dr. de Mainauduc had among his pupils one Duke, one Duchess, one Marchioness, two Countesses, one Earl, one Lord, three Ladies, one Bishop, five Right Hons., two Baronets, seven Members of Parliament, one Clergyman, two Doctors, seven Surgeons, and ninety-two Gentlemen.

the effects which Mesmer produced by his processes, they were natural phenomena and could no doubt be reproduced at will even now by repeating those processes.* If there be any reliance to be placed on the evidence of thousands upon thousands of those who operated or were operated upon—if human testimony be of any value whatever—it cannot be doubted that the most marvellous cures were very constantly made by the use of Mesmer's process.† Of these cures, many of them of hopeless cases, the Faculty of Mesmer's day refused to take cognisance; and the Faculty of our own day is profoundly ignorant about them.‡ That our doctors know nothing of the particulars of those cases is a matter of minor importance; but that they should be content to remain obstinately ignorant not only of Mesmer's theory of the origin of disease and of the effects of the "crisis," but even the very existence of the power, or force, or principle, that is so easily called into action in human beings, and produce such extraordinary and beneficial results, is,

* It is difficult to see how the position taken up by Deleuze can be successfully attacked: namely, that even if Mesmer's theories be hypothetical, incoherent, and obscure, and his doctrine of the cause and nature of disease erroneous, still it does not follow that the processes of Magnetism which he taught had no effect, or cannot be successfully applied for the cure of disease.

† The author of "Supplement aux Deux Rapports de MM. les Commissaires, &c.," says that the greater part of the 1,100 patients whose signed testimony he collected were desperate cases, who took to Magnetism as a last resource, without any confidence in it. He made an analysis of these 1,100 cases and says:—"This analysis shows all kinds of diseases cured, inveterate diseases on which the art of medicine had exhausted itself after several years; others which, if not cured, were immensely relieved; very few in which Magnetism had no effect; and not a single one in which it proved hurtful or dangerous."

‡ The doctors in Mesmer's day regarded the facts of Magnetism as coming into the class of medieval superstitions, and refused to examine them for that reason. Doctors have not that excuse now.

to say the least of it, not particularly to their credit. *

Mesmer's Successors.

Although at the date of Mesmer's death (1815) his system of procedure was followed in its integrity by a considerable number of practitioners, more especially in Germany, there were already two other schools of Animal Magnetism in existence. The school of the Chevalier de Barbarin, and the school of the Marquis de Puységur, respectively known as the "Spiritualists" and the "Experimentalists." De Barbarin taught that the cures were effected directly through the providence of God, and were in reality the result of faith alone; the processes of Mesmer serving to disguise that fact, and in no way to assist the cure, which was in every instance produced by "an act of the soul." They thought that an operator could assist by strengthening the faith of the patient, but the only physical means they seem to have used was a momentary contact with the patient to produce harmony of feeling, to which, however, they added a firm intention to produce a cure. The chief method employed by this school was religious exhortation, and their chief means was prayer; and these enabled them to obtain the same phenomena as the followers of Mesmer and De Puységur; but their somnambules said that they were inspired by spirits, which the somnambules of the other schools declared to be only their fancy, maintaining that spirits never

* Deleuze thought that "many a man will bye-and-by make a reputation in developing some of the truths which Mesmer announced." The event so far has shown that "many a man has made a reputation" by noisily denying those truths, without knowing anything about them.

inspire somnambules.* Not much is known of the "spiritualists"; having no new processes to describe, and no new theory to enunciate, this school has left very little record of its existence. It was not denied that they had a notable proportion of successes, especially among those who were particularly inclined to religious emotion. The "Spiritualists," who were to be found chiefly in Sweden and Germany, seem to have corresponded pretty exactly to the "Faith Healers" of the present day. Like the Faith Healers, the "Spiritualists" were mostly of Protestant extraction; for, according to the Church of Rome, healing by faith is of the nature of a miracle, whereas the "Spiritualists," like the Faith Healers, believed the cures to be due to a *general law* of God, rather than to a *particular act* of God—that law being, "According to your faith be it unto you."

The development of Animal Magnetism in the "Experimental" school of the "great magnetisers," who were undoubtedly the legitimate heirs and successors of Mesmer, caused the disappearance of the schools both of Mesmer proper and of De Barbarin. But who were "the great magnetisers"? The name includes a great many operators, in almost every country in Europe, many of whom were physicians, who, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nine-

* Dr. Elliotson's colleague, Dr. Ashburner, said that for a mesmeriser to concentrate his will in the form of a prayer is very efficacious; but he thought that anyone who, "having philosophically examined" the subject, concluded that the power of the mesmeriser is supernatural, "has no greater amount of wisdom than an ass." He said "I believe that a prayer and a curse are each examples of intensified human will." The curse repels, the prayer attracts.

teenth, devoted themselves to the cure of disease by Animal Magnetism, and many of whom established private institutions where patients were received, while others operated in the hospitals. The best known of that generation of magnetisers are the Marquis de Puységur, Baron Dupotet, Deleuze and Lafontaine, all of whom have left treatises on the subject. Lafontaine has been called "the last of the great magnetisers," and it was he who, in 1841, was unwittingly instrumental in diverting psychophysics into a new channel, by arousing the curiosity of Dr. Braid. There is no doubt, however, that since Lafontaine's day there have been magnetisers worthy of the name of "great," conspicuous among whom were Dr. Elliotson and Mr. Esdaile; but those who were before Braid's time belong to an apparently different order, for they were more confident, more hopeful, and more daring than those who came after, to whom Braidism was an attack on the flank, in the dark, and a source of doubt and discouragement—almost an enemy in their own camp.*

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* Deleuze, writing in 1813, speaks thus of this matter: "When magnetism was first known, the sight of new and unexpected phenomena produced an excessive enthusiasm. That enthusiasm, dangerous for other reasons, gave a confidence without limit, a living faith; and magnetisers, without any effort, made use of all their faculties, of all their power. They were in the same way seconded by their subjects, who gave themselves up to them with complete abandon. They succeeded, because they believed, they willed, and nothing seemed difficult to them. To-day, that faith, that confidence are much more rare. Most of those who magnetise have a kind of fear that they will not succeed. I have felt it myself a hundred times. I am convinced of the reality of the agent, but in spite of myself I doubt my power, and that doubt weakens my action. On some days I can act with more power, and it is always when I act with more abandon and confidence." Deleuze, be it remarked, is chiefly famed for his writings; he was not a powerful operator like the others mentioned above.

Were we to call the processes of Mesmer and the violent effects they produced "Mesmerism," then the real discoverer of Animal Magnetism, as it has been known for the last hundred years (as a phenomenon rather than a theory), is the Marquis de Puységur, the acknowledged founder of the "Experimental" school; for it is to him that are due the processes now generally known as mesmeric, which are productive of results differing considerably from those produced by Mesmer himself.* De Puységur and his two brothers, all officers in the army, took up magnetism with enthusiasm. One of his brothers, Count Maxime de Puységur, gives an interesting account, in his "Rapport des cures opereés à Baionne," of how he was led to take up the practice of magnetism. One day, a brother officer in the same regiment was struck with apoplexy during some evolutions, and he relieved him by magnetism when all other means had failed; a second case the same day, which he also relieved, drew his attention to magnetism, and he operated so successfully in other serious cases of illness, that he was soon asked to take medical charge of the regiment, after which the sick came to be treated from all the country round. He cured one of the Augustinian monks of paralysis, and the grateful Brotherhood gave him the hall of their Monastery

* De Puységur never claimed to have invented a system: he always called himself a disciple of Mesmer, of whom he was the staunch friend and warm admirer. But he did not accept Mesmer's theory: he denied the influence of the planets; he did not believe in the existence of "poles" in the body, though he said that to picture them in the mind as existing helps the magnetiser. He recognised the potency of the will, but he thought that to direct the action of the will, one had to act physically on the sick person, and even on different parts of his body.

to operate in.* As De Puységur (the Marquis) perceived that Mesmer's theories had no very necessary connection with the phenomena: and that the processes which he used were in a great measure deduced from his theory,† he was not prevented by theoretical considerations from experimenting without prejudice, or from accepting the inferences which his experiences suggested to him. According to the instructions given by Mesmer, he magnetised a tree on his estate at Busancy, where he was a *Grand Seigneur*, and not only did hundreds of the sick flock to this magnetised tree from all the district round, and, according to the accounts, were cured, but it became a great centre of propaganda, for all who wished to learn the facts, many of them being distinguished men, went on a pilgrimage there and were cordially received. Cloquet has left a most interesting description of the scene in the pamphlet I mentioned.‡ Soon afterwards, De Puységur founded

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* In his "Detail des Cures operées a Buscancy," M. Cloquet says that the brothers De Puységur did not profess that Magnetism cured all diseases. They regarded it as a renovating force, which cured some complaints, alleviated others, and brought still others to light, the existence of which was not suspected by patient or doctor. They thought, as Deleuze did, that the magnetiser and the doctor should work together. All the brothers were very powerful operators.

† Deleuze says :—" Mesmer produced experimentally certain effects by certain processes. He then invented a theory to account for the facts occurring by the processes he employed. This, as it were, consecrated the processes, and made them almost one with the theory: whereas subsequent experience proved that the strange results which Mesmer observed, but could not account for, are produced by other processes, and explicable by other theories: magnetism being quite independent both of the theories and practices of Mesmer."

‡ M. Devillers, in his "Le Colosse aux pieds d'Argile" (a work against Magnetism) compares in columns placed side by side

a "Société d'Harmonie" at Strasburg, which consisted of 188 members, "all persons of fortune, talents, and excellent character," and who published several volumes of Memoirs. He formed a class among his members, and began a series of lectures; and in the first of these he read over the "Propositions" of Mesmer, and commented upon them. When the lecture was finished his hearers crowded round him, and said: "All that is very interesting; but we should like to know if you yourself think of all those fine theories when you magnetise; at all events, if you do, your servant, Ribeault, who operates as well as you do, knows nothing at all about them. We can dispense with theory, if you will only make us practical operators like him." In his next lecture De Puységur told his class that all that is wanted is Will. "Is it possible," they asked, "that all that is necessary is to put one's hand upon a patient, and wish him to be well, to obtain results as wonderful as those you have shown us?" "That is truly the whole secret," replied De Puységur, "the whole science is contained in two words: Believe and Will."

De Puységur's instructions for magnetising were as follows at this date:—

"You are to consider yourself as a magnet; your arms, and particularly your hands, being its poles; and when you touch a patient by laying one of your hands on his back, and the other in direct opposition upon his stomach, you are to imagine that the magnetic fluid has a tendency to circulate from one hand to the other through the body of the patient. You

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the cures operated by De Puységur at Busancy, and the miraculous cures occurring at the tomb of the deacon Pâris at Père la Chaise: and the resemblance is striking. Deleuze said that the Deacon's Tomb acted as a *baquet*.

may vary this position by placing one hand on the head and the other on the stomach, still with the same intention, the same desire of doing good. The circulation from one hand to the other will continue, the head and stomach being the parts of the body where the greatest number of nerves converge; these are, therefore, the two centres to which your action ought to be mostly directed. Friction is quite unnecessary; it is sufficient to touch with great attention."

He goes on to say that somnabulism is not required for the cure, and describes a very common "intermediate state" in which the eyelids are closed, but the patient is not in the magnetic state. This state, he says, is not so beneficial as the magnetic, but it is "favourable to health."

In 1784, just about the time the Royal Commissioners were examining Deslon's *baquet* and its effects, De Puységur made the first of his two discoveries that revolutionised Animal Magnetism. One of the most usual phenomena produced by the *baquet* was a deep sleep, following the convulsive crisis. This sleep was regarded by Mesmer as a principal part of the curative action of Nature, and he never disturbed it inappropriately, the patient being left to awaken spontaneously as soon as the sleep had done its work. One day it occurred to De Puységur, who followed all Mesmer's methods, to ask an irrelevant question of a patient whom he had put to sleep in the usual way, by pressures with the hand, pointings of the finger, and touches here and there. The patient was his gardener Victor, a young rustic of very limited intelligence; and he not only answered De Puységur's question, but replied in a strain far above his usual or normal capacity. Victor, in fact, was in the lucid somnambulistic state, in

which a subject's faculties acquire an extraordinary increase of acuteness and power.*

De Puységur questioned his somnambule about his health, and about Animal Magnetism, and nothing could exceed his astonishment and delight at the discovery he had made, for not only did the replies he received from the sleeping Victor show the most marvellous intelligence, but they gave evidence of the extraordinary phenomenon of "thought reading." In a long letter to his brother, telling him about this new development, De Puységur says :—

"It is from this tall stout rustic that I derive instruction and knowledge. When in the magnetic state he is no longer a peasant, who can hardly utter a single sentence; he is a being to describe whom I cannot find a name. I need not speak, I have only to think before him, when he instantly hears and answers me. . . I know of no subject more profound, more lucid, than this peasant in his crisis."

Soon after this, De Puységur was treating a schoolmaster named Viélet for lung disease of four years standing, when one day he became "lucid," but refused to talk, as it incommoded him : he offered, however, to write about his malady. De Puységur locked him up in a dark room with two

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* This exaltation of the faculties with perfect self-consciousness and freedom of will, is a common phenomenon of Mesmerism, even when none of the "higher phenomena" appear : and many passages, like the following from Teste, might be quoted from the writings of the magnetisers :—

"Madame Hortense, during her sleep, reasons and converses with me on the most refined metaphysical subjects; she often puzzles me by the quickness of her repartees, and by the subtily of her arguments. Her language is brilliant, easy, often metaphorical, and sometimes picturesque, but for all that, true. Madame Hortense is, no doubt, a person of sense and mind; but she is far, infinitely far, from having in her habitual state that facility of thought and of expression which the magnetic sleep confers upon her."

marked pieces of paper, and next morning, while still in somnambulism, Viélet gave him these same sheets of paper, on which he had written a forecast of his case to the effect that next day at a certain hour he would throw off his lungs a quantity of matter, and then quickly recover. He had also written (in perfect darkness) a history of his illness, and an interesting description of his sensations in somnambulism. These papers De Puységur at once deposited with a notary, and next day, at the hour indicated, what Viélet had foretold occurred before witnesses, and he made a speedy recovery.

At this time the phenomenon of Clairvoyance, especially Clairvoyance at a distance, had not come to occupy the Magnetisers so much as it did later on, and when "lucidity" is spoken of we find that it generally means only the power of introvision—of perceiving the internal organs of self or of another. Deleuze, who was a very cautious and conservative writer, thus describes the somnambulic state in general:—

"The somnabule has the eyes shut and does not see through them; nor does he hear by his ears, but he hears and sees better than a person wide awake. He sees and hears only those with whom he is in rapport. He sees only that which he is occupied with, and he occupies himself generally only with that to which his attention is drawn. He is controlled by the will of his magnetiser in all except in that which might injure him, or which is contrary to his idea of truth and justice. He feels the will of his magnetiser. He perceives the magnetic fluid. He sees, or, rather, he feels the interior of his own body and that of others; but, as a rule, he notices only the parts that are not in a natural state, and which disturb the general harmony. He remembers things which he has forgotten when awake. He has previsions and presentiments, which may be erroneous in many particulars, and which are limited in extent. He expresses himself with surprising facility. He is not without

vanity. His powers develope spontaneously for a certain time if he is treated wisely. If he is badly managed he makes mistakes and loses his power. When he returns to the normal state he has completely lost the recollection of all the sensations, and of all the ideas which he had while in the somnambulic condition; insomuch that those two states are as distinct as if the somnambule and the waking man were two different individuals."

De Puységur foresaw that this new marvel would only indispose the majority of people from examining into the subject (as afterwards proved to be the case), so he cautioned his brother not to make the matter public; and although he issued privately a short account of his experience in the following year, it was not until some years afterwards that the lucid somnambulic state was generally known or described in print. It is even a matter of doubt whether Mesmer himself knew of the lucid state before De Puységur stumbled upon it; although he often questioned his subjects when in the sleep about their sensations, for he regarded this source of information about our physical and psychical constitution as very valuable. Aphorism 263 runs :—

"By questioning patients in crisis about their sensations we may learn what is the action of influences to which we are not susceptible on the normal state."

Mesmer always maintained that there were things which he had not divulged to anyone, and possibly the lucid state may have been among them. He certainly gave no sign of having been acquainted with it previously to De Puységur's accidental discovery of it; but of course he acknowledged its reality during his later years, although he does not seem to have cared to investigate it experimentally.

De Puységur in his last work, "Les Verités Cheminent," says of Mesmer's neglect of somnambulism :—

"He disapproved of somnambulism, and did not think it useful to produce it. For him, that state was only an effect or manifestation of the magnetic influence on the brain, which, by charging or actuating some of its ramifications, might perhaps have a salutary effect on the *animated automatic machine*, but which did not throw any light to guide us in the treatment of diseases; the magnetic sleep, in fact, according to him, is only a simple crisis, like the transitory pains, the delirium, or the momentary convulsions, any of which may occur. This way of looking at somnambulism was not only a consequence of Mesmer's philosophy, but even more a simple effect of the physical theories and medical opinions which he had previously adopted. All the magnetic phenomena which he produced were for him nothing but critical symptoms showing the seat and nature of the disease he had to treat, and according to which he thought that as a physician he should judge what remedies to employ.

"If Mesmer had been able for a single instant to detach himself from his systems; if, when he saw the astonishing effects which he produced in his patients, he had been able to observe them without endeavouring to explain them, without doubt he would himself have gathered from them all the valuable fruits which his disciples have obtained; but in him the physician dominated the philosopher, and only the dim light of the purely physical and medical sciences of his day shone on his path. . . . Although magnetic somnambulism, to the revelations of which we owe our knowledge of *the Magnetism of the will*, caused Animal Magnetism to take a totally different direction from that which Mesmer gave it, still it ought not the less to be considered by later magnetisers as nothing but the simple and natural development of the Magnetism of Mesmer; and it is for that reason that all men, when they use the power ot Magnetism for the benefit of their fellow men, will always award to Mesmer the credit of their success."

His second revolutionary discovery in Animal Magnetism was not made by De Puységur until 1811; it consisted in finding out how to produce the somnambulic state more quickly and certainly than before, namely, by the use of "passes." His

own account of this very important discovery is extremely interesting, because it contains evidence of the phenomenon which Colonel de Rochas calls "The Exteriorisation of Sensation." I may remark that, at that time, only those who were in some way ill or unhealthy were deemed susceptible to Animal Magnetism—the phenomena, especially somnambulism, being regarded as of the nature of disease when not an evidence of Nature's effort to produce a curative crisis. Of this second discovery De Puységur says:—

"According to my usual practice, I was magnetising a young man by laying one of my hands on his head and the other on his stomach. After a quarter of an hour's attention and concentration on my part, and perfect tranquillity on his, he told me that he felt nothing. As he had no complaint this appeared to me quite natural. I, however, again pressed him between both my hands, merely to try whether I would be more successful; but he felt no more this second time than he did the first. I was at length about to leave him, when, on slowly removing my hands from his stomach, he fetched a sigh and complained that I was hurting him. As I did not then touch him, I could not at first believe it, but he hastily took my hand and lowered it, saying that it stopped his breath. I quickly brought myself again into contact with him, expecting that he would now feel a more decided sensation, but it proved quite the contrary; the pressure of my hand had no effect whatever. On removing it to a distance of about one foot from him, he again complained; at two feet distance he felt a weight on his breast and desired me to withdraw. I then drew myself back by degrees, and stopped only when he told me that his pain was gone and he felt nothing. I was then five paces from him; I magnetised him at that distance by a slow and circular oscillation of my hand;* and immediately his head reclined on his shoulder, and somnambulism supervened.

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* Passes, either up or down, and either with contact, or at a couple of inches away, were called "oscillations of the hand," and were then used to "equally distribute the fluid" when terminating a sitting, or to calm the patient in a violent crisis.

For some time before this the convulsive crisis had been disappearing from magnetic practice: De Puységur and other Magnetisers found that the patients who did not fall into violent crises were cured sooner than those who did, and they taught that the crisis therefore was unnatural, and that the Magnetiser, instead of provoking it, ought to try to prevent its occurrence, and to put an end to it when it took place. But Mesmer had been emphatic in his opinion of the beneficial effects of the crisis, his whole theory of disease being connected with it, and for a long time a good many Practitioners of Magnetism of the old school believed firmly in crises. Ziermann, for instance, says:—

"Nature cures many diseases only by means of crises, that is in the meaning in which the word is used here, by violent efforts. In general it is only the physician who is capable of distinguishing this crisis from the disease itself. His important business is to manage, to moderate, to increase it, according to the nature and necessity of the case. . . It is the peculiarity of the magnetic treatment that it promotes those crises, developes them earlier and in a more lively manner, and thus brings the disease sooner to a termination. He who represents these artificial crises, in general, as injurious, and in this account reprobates or rejects them, is ignorant of the very essence and advantage of Magnetism."

Moreover, it was pointed out that Nature herself sometimes brings on a violent curative crisis, and later Magnetisers have remarked the same thing. Colquhoun, for instance, mentions that Abercrombie, in his work "On the Brain," quotes several cases in which paralysis was completely cured by a fit which came on spontaneously. The passes also made local or special applications of Magnetism easier, and that was an advantage: moreover, the somnambules developed by the passes were more

frequently clairvoyant, both in regard to a perception of their own and other people's internal organs, and in regard to the apparently intuitive knowledge of remedies, which was known as "medical instinct." This medical instinct plays a large part in the theory and practice of the immediate successors of Mesmer. An instance of it, taken from Tardy de Montravel, will serve to explain it.

One of Tardy's patients suffered for five years from a complaint with distressing symptoms, which neither he nor any physician could identify. She told him in somnambulism that her trouble was an enormous worm. He made a list of vermifuges, and read it over to her. She said "No," without hesitation, to each in turn until it came to the remedy for tape-worm, which she said at once would cure her. He tried this, and in a few days she passed the remains of a large tape-worm. When asked how she recognised the remedy, she said that until he came to the name of the right medicine the names he read out did not interest her, but the moment he pronounced the right one, it gave her pleasure to think of it. There are a great many similar instances recorded of the exercise of this "instinct," which, according to Mesmer, serves for our preservation, and which, he thought, proved the rapport which he believed to exist between our "internal sense" (or instinct), and the whole of Nature. For a long time, the most implicit confidence was placed in the prescriptions of somnambules: De Puységur called many of his patients "doctors" because they prescribed so successfully for each other, and for strangers. But by-and-bye it was remarked that somnambules prescribed

chiefly remedies with which they were acquainted, such as bleeding, blistering, and purging—an unholy trinity that constituted a large part of the medical practice of the day. Even their far-fetched prescriptions were not always original; for instance, when we read of a somnambule ordering a patient to drink the milk of a goat into whose skin mercury had been rubbed for some days previously, we are apt to think that such a fanciful prescription must surely be an inspiration; but, after all, that was merely a delicate means employed by the doctors of the time for procuring a mild salivation in fashionable patients.

The Old School and the New; Animal Magnetism in Germany and in France.

We have seen that what at first sight seems like a sudden collapse of energy and combativeness on the part of Mesmer in 1781 was not so; he did not throw up his cards and leave Paris for good when his negociations with the French Government fell through. But there can be no doubt that he was influenced very much in after years by the turn that had been given to Animal Magnetism by De Puységur and his followers. Whether Mesmer was perfectly aware of the existence and characteristics of lucid somnambulism, as Kerner, Kiesewetter (in "Mesmer aus Schwaben") and some others think, or only learned about it from Puységur's experiments, there is no doubt that he did not consider Puységurean magnetism the proper way to attain the best curative results. Although he disapproved of needless, exaggerated, and mismanaged crises, there is no

indication that he ever gave up his firm belief in the crisis as Nature's own way of curing disease, or ever doubted the existence of two distinct kinds of symptoms—those of the disease, and those of the curative crisis—between which it was the business of the physician to discriminate. That Mesmer looked upon the Societés d'Harmonie on the whole with a friendly eye there is no reason to doubt, for even it they did not always spread a knowledge of his own system, they at least made known the existence of a wonderful curative power, of which the world at large was ignorant; but it is more than doubtful that he relied on them, as the French writers on Animal Magnetism say, for "the triumph of his ideas," because the theory and practise which many of them taught were in reality not his, but De Puységur's.

What Mesmer relied upon for the triumph of his ideas was the seed he himself or his disciples had sown in German soil, for, as we have seen, the magnetism which took root in Germany was that of Mesmer, not that of the Experimentalists. It was Mesmer, not De Puységur, that was invited (it is said by the King of Prussia) to come to Berlin and teach his system, and it was to Mesmer that the celebrated physician Wolfart went in 1812, when the invitation was refused on the plea of old age and infirmity. It was Mesmerian magnetism that was studied and practised, and not only by Gmelin and Wienholt, but also by Shelling, Hufeland, Kluge, Wolfart, Kuntzman, Petzold, Bockmann, Heieken, Rahn, Scherb, Nasse, Müller, and others whose names are recorded in the history of magnetism, and who were all celebrated physicians of their day, and

some of whom have left treatises and reports on Animal Magnetism that may one day be disinterred and studied. Even at the present day, the magnetism of the Germans resembles that of Mesmer more than that of De Puységur and his school. One naturally asks how it is that Animal Magnetism is universally regarded as a French, rather than as a German product? The answer is, because the German magnetisers seldom mentioned Mesmer, although they followed his practical methods and to some extent accepted his theory of disease, while the French were never tired of glorifying Mesmer, and declaring themselves his disciples, although they disbelieved in his theories, and invented methods for themselves which brought on results which differed greatly in some respects from those he produced. Kiesewetter, as well as Kerner, attributes the little mention of Mesmer on the part of the German magnetisers to cowardice and ingratitude. The popular opinion or feeling was against Mesmer, and those who were virtually his disciples, Peter-like, had not the courage to face the prejudice against him on the part of the public, and to acknowledge him as their teacher. Before we can condemn them, however, we have to ask ourselves whether we, too, are not guilty of the very same ingratitude and cowardice, not only towards Mesmer, but toward Deleuze, De Puységur, Dupotet and other magnetisers when we repeat their experiments under the name of "Hypnotism" and pretend that we are the discoverers ourselves. At all events the German magnetisers had the honesty sometimes to call their science "Animal Magnetism."

Now, De Puységur and Deleuze form a connecting link between the magnetism of Mesmer and that of Dupotet and later magnetisers. Both of them were of markedly benevolent dispositions, and made the cure of disease their primary object; but while Deleuze was of an even, unexcitable, and singularly dispassionate and judicial temper, De Puységur was emotional and enthusiastic. Although the leader of the Experimentalists, De Puységur said that experiment for its own sake was to be avoided; he went so far as to say that the best way to experiment is never to try to make any experiments, for strange phenomena occur spontaneously while doing one's best to cure the patient. Although he did not accept Mesmer' theory *in extenso*, he says:—

"I believe that there exists a universal fluid, giving life to the whole of Nature; that this is not an ancient error, but an ancient truth. I believe that this fluid on earth is continually in movement, and that this is a truth no less ancient and not less demonstrated to-day."

De Puységur accepted Mesmer's theory of a "sixth sense"; at least, he thought that the faculty of "presensation," or presentiment, shows that in the somnambulistic state a sixth sense comes into action in addition to the five we know, of which sixth sense we can form no conception in our normal state. His somnambules told him that on approaching a sick person they felt his sensations as if in themselves; and that was why they placed their hands as unerringly on the place where the pain was, as if it were in their own body. They also told him that they did not *foresee* the course of their diseases, or of that of another person, or the date of their recovery, but *forefelt* it. As they described this power of presenti-

ment, it seems not unlike a reversed memory — a memory turned round, and directed to the future. The word "presensation," or presentiment, ought, from its derivation, to mean feeling what is to come.

De Puységur compared the action of magnetism in a patient to the action of water in two vases of the same height. They are both connected with a common reservoir, but in one of them the connecting pipe is choked up, and acts irregularly, while in the other no such obstruction exists, and in it the water remains at its proper height, instead of fluctuating. Now, if you open a communication between the vases, the water from the reservoir flows through the unobstructed vase into the other, and in both the water keeps at the proper level. Although he fully believed in the *baquet*, he thought that its effect was very slight unless it had been previously magnetised; until the fluid had been set going by human magnetism, as one puts a light to a fire already laid, "only those with very vivid imaginations" feel any strong effects from it. In his hands the *baquet* never produced the violent convulsive symptoms so common in the public séances. He says that it rarely happened that at the first trial either the *baquet* or the chain brought on a crisis—that is to say, had any marked result. Nor did either of these contrivances produce its full effect until the patient had been "touched" by the magnetiser in attendance. In the case of the chain, the magnetiser at first took his place in it with the patients, and, after a while, left it and went round "touching" the others, who still remained holding hands. It was not the *baquet*, but the

"crisis rooms" that De Puységur objected to. He says :—

"The crisis rooms, which ought rather to be called 'hells for convulsions,' should never have existed. Mesmer would never have had them had it not been that the number who came to him in his new lodgings made it impossible for him to attend individually to all; so he thought of an arrangement, which, when he was absent from his patients, would at all events save them from being 'touched' by strangers, which he knew to be very disadvantageous. He is much to be pitied for all the evil that has come from that source, which a desire to do good suggested to him."

He goes on to say that so long as it was Mesmer only who had the management of the crisis rooms, the evil was not so great, but that when he had made his system public, other magnetisers made the convulsive crises the chief feature, and all kinds of evils resulted.

We find in the writings of Deleuze and De Puységur discussions and opinions about most of the points of consideration or contention among hypnotists to-day. We meet, for instance, with many instances of the transfer of diseases from the subject to the magnetiser. De Puységur found that subjects in the somnambulistic state had often great magnetic power, and he used to set them to magnetise each other with excellent effect; but on one occasion a patient named Jolly, who was still weak after his recovery from a bad illness, magnetised another patient named Métivier, and Métivier's gout and paralysis were transferred to him, causing a severe illness. Again, the "dangers of Hypnotism" is a favourite topic for Hypnotisers; and so also were the dangers of Magnetism with the magnetisers. With regard to the danger of a magnetiser taking

advantage of the subject in crisis to do him or her an injury, De Puységur says: "They (his somnambules) have all assured me that they kept their judgment and reason while in that state, and that they could very quickly perceive any bad intentions towards them; when they felt that, it caused them to awaken on the spot." In another place he says:—

"One day I questioned a woman in the crisis about the power which I had over her; I had just forced her (without speaking) to hit me with a fly-flap she had in her hand; and I said to her, 'I would wager that if I willed it determinately I could make you do anything I liked, since I can make you hit me, me who have done you so much good. I could, for instance, make you take off all your clothes.' 'No such thing, sir,' she replied, 'that is not the same thing. What you made me do did not seem to me quite right, and I resisted for some time; but as it was only a jest, and you wished it greatly, I consented; but as to what you now say, you would never be able to make me undress myself; my shoes and my hat, yes; but not anything more."

Tardy de Montravel got the same answer from all his somnambules: "If you were to do anything to me wrong or contrary to my principles, you would do much harm to me, and I should immediately awake." What doing harm to a somnambulist may mean is illustrated by an experience of Townshend (a clergyman), who states that he was curious to see the condition of the eyes of one of his somnambules, so, contrary to her wishes, he forced open both of her eyes. A "terrible sight" was what met his gaze, for the eyeballs were bloodshot, the pupils turned up into the head in a violent squint, and in a tremulous motion. The consequence was that when he awoke his subject she was totally blind, and both he and she were terribly frightened. He had presence of mind to throw her again at once into the mesmeric

condition, and when he brought her to again she had recovered her sight.

One of the most striking discoveries of the Hypnotists is the sub-conscious or second personality; but this was known to the magnetisers. De Puységur knew of it, and it puzzled him, just as it puzzles us to-day. He tried all he could to connect the ideas of his patients in the somnambulic state with their ideas in their normal state, but without the least success. "The demarcation is so great," he says, "that one can look upon the two states as two existences." The somnambulic person, he says, knows all that happens to him, and all about the normal person, but the normal person knows nothing that the somnambulic person does, and is even unaware of his existence. One of the latest methods of producing Hypnosis is pressure on the eyeball, but De Puységur anticipated us, he says:—

"The eye seems to be more susceptible than any other organ. It is by a light rubbing of the eye that I charge my subjects, and bring on somnambulism; and it is also by a very light friction on the eye that I operate a sudden discharge, from which results awakening into their natural state."

For a long time the old method of magnetising remained mixed up with the new. The laying on of hands, in the shape of pressures and of kneadings with the fingers, and the touchings and pointings of a rod of iron or glass were alternated with the passes. The fixation of the eyes was used at first as a convenient way of concentrating the attention of both operator and subject while the passes were being made, and was afterwards found to have a powerful and characteristic effect of its own. The

"chain" and even the *baquet* were not discarded for many years after the discovery of the passes. We find full instructions how to make a *baquet* in Gauthier's elaborate treatise, published in 1845; and the "Zoist" describes a kind of small *baquet* constructed by a Mr. W. Hazzard fifty years ago, which resembled the little *baquets* that in Mesmer's time were placed under the patients' beds at night to collect and transmit the "universal medium." Mr. Hazzard placed a large crystal of carbonate of lime in a glass jar, and covered it with water and from it he led brass rods. He found that when people took hold of these rods they frequently passed into the mesmeric state.

But as soon as the change of theory was universally accepted, the *baquet* and the chain finally disappeared. That change of theory was *from the belief* that the crisis and the curative effects were produced by an influx of cosmic magnetism, or the universal agent, mediated by a magnetiser, whose function was to induce, direct, and equilibrate that influx*, *to a belief* that the magnetiser himself pro-

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* Writing in 1781, Mesmer said 'By the expression Animal Magnetism I mean one of the universal operations of Nature, the action of which, when directed on our nerves, offers a universal means of curing and preserving man.' Deleuze, writing some thirty-five years later, said, 'The phenomena observed in Magnetism seem to come from two causes, the action of the will, and that of a fluid, which is the instrument used by the will.' Deleuze, in fact, stood half way between Mesmer, who thought that the effect was produced by the universal fluid which was by his methods directed on, or into, a man, and the later magnetisers, who believed it was their own 'vital magnetism' that they imparted to their patient. Neither Deleuze or De Puységur seem to have been sure whether the magnetiser acts more as a conductor of the *universal* fluid, or as a generator of, and resevoir for, a special *animal* 'fluid.'

duced the curative effects, by making changes in the magnetic condition of the patient by his own power, and by imparting to him some of his own "nervous fluid." The latter conception made a much more realistic thing of the "fluid." The Animal Magnetism of which Mesmer spoke was a variety of the universal magnetism, which acquired characteristic properties when manifesting in, or flowing through, an animal organism, just as the same universal magnetism acquired different properties by manifestating in, or flowing through, a mineral medium; and it is not Mesmer, but the science of his day, that is responsible for the idea that this magnetism is a "fluid." Some magnetisers have even denied that Mesmer used the term "fluid," but that is a mistake; he, however, pointedly compares the action of his fluid to that of a flame, and describes magnetism as an *effect*, rather than as a *substance*. He was endeavouring to make a new idea clear, and had to rely greatly on analogies, no single one of which conveyed that idea perfectly; but this did not satisfy his opponents, who imagined that only clear-cut descriptions are scientific, and who therefore found him "obscure," or else "mystical." It is pretty certain that had the conception of vibrations held possession of the scientific mind in Mesmer's time as completely as it does of the scientific mind of to-day, Mesmer and his school would have attributed the phenomena to *magnetic vibrations* in the universal ether, instead of referring them to a *magnetic fluid*. The idea of a "fluid," however, was confirmed, and made more materialistic, when it was found that new and very surprising phenomena were produced by the passes;

for the passes suggested an explanation founded on the analogy of the behaviour of liquids, the magnetic fluid being imagined as pouring out of the fingers of the magnetisers, and being absorbed by the subject; and the flame-like appearances that were seen by clairvoyants to proceed from the hands of the operator, and invade the body of the subject, seemed a conclusive confirmation of the fluid theory. We do not, however, hear of Mesmer or his disciples becoming fatigued or depleted by magnetising trees and *baquets*, or by operating on a large number of persons at the same time; whereas, according to the later school, even a powerful magnetiser cannot operate on more than a limited number of subjects in a day without his magnetism becoming exhausted. This exhaustion of the operator is a moot question with modern hypnotists also; those who rely on Suggestion alone do not allow that the operator feels any fatigue; those who use "mesmeric methods" declare that he does. Ochorovicz, a leading authority among the latter, says:—

"Here are the conclusions I have reached in my own practice: the act of magnetising, even when it is restricted to the imposition of the hands, is much more exhausting than an act mechanically analogous. This exhaustion is more marked when one magnetises a sick person than when one magnetises one who is sound. This nervous exhaustion, which manifests itself by certain special characters, is sometimes accompanied by a transmission of pain. The phenomenon is always accompanied by a notable relief to the patient whose disease is communicated. One might say that the nerve equilibrium is established at the expense of another organism that is more in equilibrium."

Mesmer thought that the magnetiser puts in motion currents in the ether or universal medium, which he then directs and distributes as he thinks

best; and Deleuze tells us that this view was corroborated by the clairvoyants, who said that, by repeated passes, the magnetiser sets the fluid in motion as a spark sets fire to combustible material, and that when a person magnetises, the fluid he directs does not come from himself. But this newer view of the "fluid" is as if it were supposed that a magnet, when used to magnetise another piece of iron, imparts its own magnetic fluid to it, and loses its virtue by the operation; or as if a candle which is used to light a number of others gives away its own flame in the process, and goes out, or nearly so. Now, *flames are not fluids;* and that the delightfully simple "fluid theory" leaves a large part of the phenomena unaccounted for. It was that unlucky word "fluid" that took the Royal Commissioners off the scent; and it still acts as a red herring drawn across our path.

De Puységur soon enlarged his formula of "Believe and will" into "Actively will to do good; firmly believe in your own power; and have entire confidence in its use." This accorded with Deleuze's idea, for Deleuze reversed the order of De Puységur's words, and put it "Will and believe," for he thought that if you wish to do good to someone a belief in your power to do so will follow. It is curious to find the same differences of opinion now among our Hypnotisers. De Puységur insisted on the necessity for will, or firm intention, but many of Mesmer's other disciples opposed that idea, declaring that the will is inoperative, except as exciting the imagination, and therefore the energy, of the magnetiser. Others maintained that the gestures alone

were completely inoperative, and each side quoted its own actual experiences, and ignored those of the other side — precisely as the different schools of hypnotism do now. Although Mesmer makes little mention of the will in his writings, his motto was "Sachez Vouloir" — *know how to will.** Tardy de Montravel thus explains the "will" which Mesmer laid stress upon :—

"Will must not be confounded with wish (*il ne faut pas confondre la volonté avec le vouloir*), the former is a physical agent, a force coming from a principle in operation in my soul, but affecting my organs physically: the latter is nothing, so to speak, but a fantasy of the soul, which is followed by no physical effect."

Tardy says that "salutary effects do not require a great expenditure of will, but on the contrary a continuous gentle current." The will can be thrown outside the body with different degrees of force, as it can be emitted to the muscles in different amounts. You cannot move a heavy body if you make the attempt believing it to be light; and too much effort to lift a light one, believing it to be heavy, will send it flying. Too great an effort of the will in magnetising might upset the patient and bring on convulsions.

Neither De Puységur, who was a pupil of Mesmer, nor Deleuze, who first learned Mesmer's method, ever abandoned the employment of pointings, pressures, and touchings. Dupotet, who succeeded them, laid more stress on will, and less on benevolent intentions,

* In the 354 "Aphorisms" of Mesmer, collected by his pupils, there is nothing said about will or belief. Deleuze explains this by supposing that Mesmer wanted to avoid raising discussions, and that he desired his pupils to act empirically so that their mind should not be troubled all the time to co-ordinate theory with the results they obtained.

and relied far more than either De Puységur or Deleuze on the fixation of the eye and on the passes; and the method of Lafontaine, who came later, for inducing the magnetic condition was, in the end, entirely confined to those "manœuvres," except that he established contact with the hands while looking into the eyes of his subject, and, of course, exerted his will powerfully all the time. Deleuze's introduction to Mesmerism was through a magnetic "chain." A friend of his had been to visit De Puységur at Busancy, and he went to ask this friend about his experiences. Deleuze took part in a chain at his friend's house and soon fell asleep, and during his sleep he "talked a great deal, and acted strangely"; and he was much surprised when he woke up to find all the others laughing at him, for he had no recollection of having said or done anything. After that experience, Deleuze could not doubt the reality of Animal Magnetism, and he set about to study and practise it.

The following are Deleuze's instructions for throwing a subject into the mesmeric condition, and they still form the basis of the procedure of most magnetisers, although they are now generally regarded as needlessly complicated and "fussy," and are much simplified in practice:—

"Seat your patient as conveniently as possible, and place yourself opposite him, on a seat rather more elevated than his, so as to hold his knees between yours, and to touch his feet with your own. Request him to give himself up, to think of nothing, and not to distract his attention by examining the effects he may experience; to be full of hope and not to be uneasy or alarmed should the magnetic influence produce in him momentary pains. After having composed yourself, hold

his thumbs between your fingers, so that the inside of your thumbs may touch the inside of his, and fix your eyes upon him. You must remain from two to five minutes in this position, or until you feel that your thumbs and his are at the same temperature. This being done, you must withdraw your hands, by moving them outwardly right and left, so that the inward surface be turned outwards, and raise them as high as the head; you must then lay them on both shoulders, and leave them there for about one minute; then bring them down along the arms to the extremity of the fingers, touching slightly all the way. You will repeat this manipulation five or six times, keeping your hands off the body when you raise them. You will then hold your hands above the head for a moment, and draw them down before the face, at a distance of about two inches, as low as the pit of the stomach. Here you will stop again for about two minutes, laying your thumbs on the pit of the stomach, and your fingers under the ribs. You will then slowly come down the body as low as the knees. These manipulations should be repeated during the greater part of the sitting. You will also occasionally come nearer to the patient, so as to lay your hands behind his shoulders, and bring them slowly down the spine, and thence over the hips and along the thighs, down to the knees or to the feet. When you wish to bring the sitting to a close, you must take care to draw the magnetic fluid to the extremities of the hands and feet, by lengthening your line of motion beyond those extremities, each time shaking your fingers. Lastly, you will make before the face, and even before the breast, a few transverse manipulations at a distance of three or four inches."

The Governments of several European countries, as we have seen, followed the example of Prussia, and sent accredited representatives to study Animal Magnetism: but it was not until after Mesmer's death that for the most part they took that step, and we find that it was to Berlin, rather than to Paris, that information about the "new method of curing disease" was sought. The consequence of these enquiries was that by the year 1820 Animal Magnetism had been introduced into many of the hospitals in Germany, Austria, Russia, Belgium,

Holland, and Switzerland; not, perhaps, as a recognised system of therapeutics, but at all events as a matter that demanded honest and careful investigation. In all those countries, however, the practice of magnetism was by law confined to medical men, a step which had far reaching results in regard to the spread of the "science." Animal Magnetism meant for the doctors Mesmer's method of curing disease, by touchings, pressures, pointings and drawings of the finger or rod down the body, together with the *baquet* and the chain; and it was by these processes that they judged it. A crisis, and the cure that followed it, had to be recognised as real things the moment they ceased to be ignored; and all over Europe at that time the crises brought on by the magnetisers, and the resulting cures, were becoming more and more fully accepted as actualities. But the magnetisers of the new school threw everything into confusion by decrying the crises, and doing away with the *baquets*, the chains, and the pressures and pointings, on which the old school relied. The disciples of Mesmer maintained that the best proof of the reality of Animal Magnetism was the cure of disease; but a new kind of proof was now offered by the "Experimentalists," namely, the production of anæsthesia, clairvoyance and trance, which, after all, were merely the symptoms that showed themselves during the process of cure, not the really important thing, the cure itself. A patient in coma or in convulsions was not an attractive object except to medical experts; but a clairvoyant, who told what people were saying or doing a mile away, had an interest for everyone.

The Doctors Investigate Somnambulism.

The consequence in France of the discovery of Puységurean magnetism was that the old methods and their results were discredited, and by degrees forgotten, and the practice of magnetism fell more and more into lay hands — its chief exponents, or missionaries, as they called themselves, being almost all laymen. In the countries, on the other hand, where magnetism had been made a monopoly of the doctors, there was no alternative form to step in when the old form was discredited, nor were there any enthusiastic lay-magnetisers to spread the glad tidings of a new magnetic dispensation. As might have been foretold, therefore, it has been only in the countries where no legal restrictions have been placed on the practice of magnetism — in France, England, and the United States — that the study of Psycho-physics has made any noticeable progress since Mesmer's day, although the prohibitory laws have long been a dead letter everywhere, and the Germans, with their usual industry and thoroughness, have never ceased to investigate Animal Magnetism, but, for many years now, chiefly along physiological lines, a method which bars out the more startling phenomena.

In France, the new magnetism not only superseded the old, but caused a great revival of interest in it. The doctors found that people would no longer accept their off-hand verdict that the whole thing was nothing but "imagination," and they had to wake up and to meet this new curiosity on the part of the public. This the doctors did by

declaring the new phenomena to be all simulation, and by setting to work to expose the "fraud." The means they adopted to this end was the infliction of pain, too severe to be endured without some sign of suffering by a person who was shamming. Mesmer spoke of "the fanaticism of incredulity" with which he had met, but these new "tests" look more like the fanaticism of imbecility and brutality—rather startling in members of a profession which seeks credit for more than the average intelligence and benevolence. It was the habit to embody the account of these "tests" in a *procés verbal*, and here are a few instances, which are quoted by Dupotet; who, indeed, thought it his duty to his science to be himself the operator in several similar cases:—

"I, the undersigned, certify that on January 8th, 1821, at the request of Dr. Récamier, I put into magnetic sleep the woman Lise Leroi, lying in bed No. 22 in the ward St. Agnes. M. Récamier had previously threatened that he would apply a moxa to her person if she allowed herself to fall asleep. I, Robouam, then, much against her will, caused the patient to fall into magnetic sleep, during which M. Gilbert burned agaric under her nostrils, and this nauseous smell produced no perceptible effect; and that afterwards M. Récamier himself applied moxa on the epigastric region (pit of the stomach), which produced an eschar of fifteen lines in length and nine in breadth; that during the operation the patient did not show the least symptom of suffering, either by cries, gestures, or variation of pulse; that she remained in a state of perfect insensibility, and that on awakening from the magnetic sleep she showed signs of suffering great pain. MM. Gilbert Créqui, &c., were present at this séance.

"(Signed) Robouam, Docteur-Médecin."

By "moxa" is meant the direct application of fire to the flesh, a "test" frequently applied, and which is thus described:—

"The down of the mugwort (*artemesia chinensis*), hemp,

flax, or any combustible substance, being rolled into a cylindrical form, is lighted, and the point of the flame, by means of a smaller canula or blow-pipe, directed on the part."

In another *procès verbal*, the doctors say that they all shouted at the same moment in the ears of Catherine Samson, "a girl of much natural timidity," and as this did not startle her, they "plucked out the hair of her head by the roots, but could detect no sign of sensation." In another case someone fired off a pistol so close to the patient's ear that her skin was burned, but she did not notice it, although the sudden noise caused some ladies who were present to faint. In another case, the operating doctor requested everyone to provide himself with a pin, all of which (fifty or sixty) were thrust into various parts of the patient's body at the same moment without effect.

In the tenth volume of the "Bibliothèque de Médicine," there is an account of a magnetised subject whom the doctors caused to be whipped on her bare shoulders; and, as this had no effect, they smeared her back with honey, "and in this state she was exposed to the stinging of bees under a scorching sun; yet, although severely blistered, she did not manifest any sign of pain until she was awakened, when she suffered acute agony, and complained grievously of the cruel treatment she had received." Sometimes these "tests" were applied by sceptical doctors; sometimes by doctors who were themselves convinced, but who wished to impress their more obstinate brethren.

After all, these cruelties were only the application to artificial somnambulism of the tests which

the doctors had been accustomed to apply in cases of natural somnambulism; for although a number of well authenticated cases of the latter had occurred at various times, they were within the personal experience only of a few, and every doctor who had not met with a case undertook to apply tests of genuineness on his own account in the shape of the infliction of pain. A Dr. Sauvages de la Croix sent the report of a case of natural somnambulism to several Medical Associations (the case is reported in the "Memoires of the Academy of Sciences"), and although he did not doubt the *bona fides* of the young girl who was the subject, he thought it necessary to torture her a little for the benefit of his *confrères*, "considering," he says, "that I could never venture to affirm it unless I applied some experimental tests myself." This occurred in 1741, and the celebrated Dr. Wienholt, of Bremen, a contemporary of Mesmer and friend of Lavater, thus describes the proceedings of Dr. Sauvages (appropriate name!):—

"He caused her arm to be deeply pricked with a needle, and the soles of her feet to be gently tickled with the points of the fingers; he poured spirit of hartshorn into her mouth, held it to her nostrils, and blew Spanish snuff up her nose. He causes her to be addressed unexpectedly in a loud voice. A person who had been concealed suddenly uttered a piercing cry close to her ear, and, at another time, he threw a stone violently against her bedstead. But all that this produced, in this otherwise so excitable person, not the slightest mark of feeling, and occasioned no motion. The attempts, too, made by Sauvages, to produce some effects upon her eyes, were quite as ineffectual. In vain did he unexpectedly aim a blow at her with his hand; she made no effort to evade it, nor did she interrupt her discourse, and the eyelids did not move in the slightest degree. He held spirits of hartshorn before her eyes, and moistened a feather with it and applied it to the cornea; suddenly touched

one of the eyeballs with his finger; nay, at last he held a lighted candle so close to her open eye that her eyelashes were burned."

We flatter ourselves that medical men to-day would not do such things; perhaps not; but the "Zoist" mentions that Mr. Liston, the celebrated surgeon, in a similar way tore two pieces of skin off the hand of a girl in spontaneous or natural somnambulism, in order to see if she were shamming —referring to the "Lancet" of May 22nd, 1830, for an account of the incident. It naturally seems to a layman that such an action as that of Mr. Liston displays even more stupidity than cruelty, and he asks himself how it can be that the doctors are so incredulous, and employ such coarse and brutal means for finding out the truth. One reason that has been more than once suggested for the obstinate denial by medical men of the truth of the phenomena of Animal Magnetism is their very limited reading, which causes them to measure probabilities, and even possibilities, by the thumb-rule of their own limited experiences; insomuch that the general public is sometimes better informed than they are about the spontaneous occurrence of unusual phenomena. It is argued that the medical man begins his professional studies when he is still in the raw and impressionable condition of adolescence, and his medical education is very much of the nature of a hypnosis—during several years he is taught to believe and accept this, and to disbelieve and refuse that, simply because so it is written or said —and the possession of a Doctor's Degree gives him an exaggerated idea of his knowledge and capacity. The public on its part does not expect,

or even allow, a doctor to pursue any studies outside of his profession, thinking that if he has other interests he must necessarily neglect his own particular business. The consequence is said to be that, as a body, medical men are intensely conservative, and when people are intensely conservative it generally means that they are prejudiced and ignorant. It is added that, at all events, medical men doubted or denied the existence of spontaneous somnambulism long after most intelligent laymen believed in its reality, just as they doubt or deny at the present day the actuality of spontaneous combustion — a phenomenon for the occasional occurrence of which the evidence seems to the lay mind to be conclusive, even though its "possibility" remains unexplained.

Another reason that has been suggested for the incredulity of the doctors in regard to the phenomena of magnetism, is their ignorance in former days of the first principles of logic. We find a few maxims or postulates which, although they were seldom stated formally, seem to have ruled the whole profession as far as their beliefs were concerned. One of these maxims was, "I do not believe that people can hold conversation in their sleep; this person holds conversation; therefore he is not asleep." Another was, "I do not believe that operations can be performed without giving pain; this person gives no sign of pain; therefore he is shamming." We read in the "Zoist" that Sir Benjamin Brodie, in the case of a painless operation (the amputation of the leg) under magnetism, said that the patient must have been naturally unsusceptible of pain,

although he was perfectly aware that the unfortunate man had given evidence for months previously of suffering great agony. Another common specimen of "doctor's logic" (as it has been named) was to call for some phenomenon that was no proof in the case in dispute. The magnetisers affirmed, "Mesmerism cures disease"; the doctors replied "Then make your clairvoyant see through a wall." That arch "trimmer" just mentioned, Sir Benjamin Brodie, for instance, no doubt thought he was disproving the curative effects of magnetism when he put a hundred pound note in a box and defied the clairvoyants to read the number. It seems strange to find such childish logic in the mouth of a "learned" profession; but I wish rather to excuse than to accuse the doctors, for whom *individually* I have much admiration; therefore I shall only add that their professional training is not such as to foster independent or accurate thinking, for Medicine is an empirical science, and in the first instance is therefore necessarily based on the "post-hoc, propter-hoc" reasoning—"This medicine is good, for I gave it to my patient and he got well"—and nothing is so demoralising to the intellect as to rely habitually on that equivocal argument.

Our hynotisers do not make much mention of somnambulism, and when they refer to it, they do not mean *lucid* somnambulism, which resembles the spontaneous, for, as Moll points out, there are now as many as five distinct meanings attached to the term "somnambulism."* In the early days of

* These five meanings are: (1) One of Charcot's three States. (2) When loss of memory takes place after waking. (3) As

Magnetism, somnambulism had occupied a prominent place, not only on account of the extraordinary phenomena occurring in that state, but also because, as I have said, the Faculty turned their attention to it, almost to the exclusion of the question of the curative effects of magnetism; for the magnetisers claimed to be able to bring on, control, and put an end to the somnambulic condition, and appealed to the doctors to allow that claim; but few doctors recognised somnambulism when they saw it, and many denied the existence of any such extraordinary and "unnatural" state; so that the task which the magnetisers had to perform was not merely to demonstrate that artificial somnambulism resembled spontaneous, but to prove to the doctors that such a thing as somnambulism existed at all. Natural somnambulism was, however, even then well known to certain medical specialists, and is described by Wienholt in his "Lectures." As natural somnambulism bears a strong resemblance to artificial, if indeed it be not the same thing, and as it is not well known to laymen, I may quote Wienholt's description of it.

"The sleep-walker, when otherwise healthy, falls, at a particular period, into a common sleep, which cannot be distinguished from the natural state of repose. After a longer or shorter time, he rises from his couch, and walks about the room —sometimes about the house. He frequently goes out into the open air, walks upon known or unknown paths as quickly, and with as much activity and confidence, as in his waking state,

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equivalent to Hypnosis itself. (4) Spontaneous sleep-walking. (5) The Mesmeric State of "lucidity."

Bertrand, in 1826, distinguished four kinds of Somnambulism, which he called: Essential (or natural); Symptomatic (a symptom of disease); Artificial (by magnetic process); and Ecstatic (chiefly religious).

avoids all objects that stand, or have been designedly placed in his route, and makes his way along rugged paths, and climbs dangerous heights, which he would never have thought of attempting when awake. He reads printed and written papers, writes as well and as correctly as in his waking state, and performs many other operations requiring light and the natural use of his eyes. All these actions, however, are performed by the somnambulist in complete darkness as well as when awake, and generally with his eyes firmly closed. When the period of his somnambulism has elapsed, he returns to bed, falls back again into his natural sleep, awakes at his usual time, and in most instances knows nothing of what he has done in his *sleep-waking* state. At the same time there are very few persons who exhibit all these phenomena, or even the greater number of them. For the most part they only wander about, without any other peculiar manifestation. . . . . This (the above mentioned) state, which occurs in persons otherwise healthy, frequently occurs in diseases, especially diseases of the nervous system. In the latter case, the affection usually commences with a paroxysm of convulsive motions, catalepsy, apparent syncope; and then passes over into a state precisely similar, so far as regards the principal symptoms, to somnambulism; only that in this latter case the patients not only act, but speak, which rarely happens in the former state. Before these patients are completely restored to their ordinary waking state their sleep is changed into a similar convulsive state, combined with want of consciousness."

Artificial somnambulism resembles the latter form; as, in the first mentioned form, the subject is completely "isolated," whereas the magnetic somnambulist is in *rapport* with his operator. This, of course, makes it possible to study the condition by asking the subject questions.

That which struck Deleuze as most remarkable in the somnambulist he tells thus:—

"It is the absolute indifference to what appertains to terrestrial objects, to the interests of fortune or reputation. It is the absence of the passions, and the opinions by which one is governed in the ordinary state, and of even all acquired ideas, of which they very well preserve the recollection, but to which they no longer attach importance. It is the little

interest they take in life; it is the novel manner of viewing objects; it is the quick and direct judgment, accompanied by an intimate conviction. . . . He appears to see things in a new light. Conscientiousness is aroused and determines his judgment. He expresses himself lucidly and with elegance, devoid of passion or excitement. Charity and benevolence are active. He sometimes thinks himself inspired, but this arouses no vanity."

Deleuze was deeply moved by these characteristics, for he adds: "Listen to your somnambulist with self-forgetfulness, confidence and simplicity, as a child listens to its mother." It seems very doubtful whether modern hypnotisers produce the same state of somnambulism as the early magnetisers, even when they make use of "Mesmeric methods." They do not produce the state of "lucidity," nor do they attempt to do so, which may be the reason why they do not meet with it. Binet and Féré, leading authorities of the Saltpêtrière School, say that there are—

"Two opposite types of somnambulism—the active and the passive types. The latter remains motionless, with closed eyes, without speech or expression, and, if asked a question, she replies in a low voice. Yet we are confident that this repose of the intelligence is only apparent; the subject retains her consciousness of places and of persons, and hears all that is said in her presence. The other subject is a singular contrast to the one we have just described, since she is in a state of perpetual movement. As soon as she is thrown into the somnambulic state she rises from her chair, looks to the right and left, and will even go so far as to address the persons present with familiarity, whether she is acquainted with them or not. . . . In the majority of subjects there is no marked difference between their normal life and that of somnambulism."

Magnetism before Mesmer's Day.

As soon as the opponents of Mesmer found it growing difficult to maintain that the phenomena

were not true, they raised the cry that Mesmer's theories were not new. Now this *ignoratio elenchi* cut both ways, for it was evidently in Mesmer's favour that his "new fangled notions" were, after all, old philosophical ideas. So both friends and enemies set to work to dig among old authors for passages that bore upon the subject. The result of the search was very remarkable. In what may be called the recent deposit, left by the generations immediately preceding, a great many highly Mesmerian passages were found, which showed that the general trend of many of the brightest and most learned minds had for some centuries been in the same direction of philosophic speculation as that taken by Mesmer. Deeper down, the explorers came to the strata of mediæval pietism, and here, too, they found the same speculations lying in a deposit of faith, and thickly incrusted with miracle; and not only did they find the same speculations, but a number of similar facts in an excellent state of preservation. Sinking lower still, they discovered, in the primary and second strata of ancient Greece and Rome, scattered fragments of opinions and practices that strangely resembled those of the magnetisers. Even the paleozoic ages of ancient Egypt and Assyria yielded specimens to the point in the shape of painted and sculptured figures making gestures which were evidently intended for mesmeric manipulations. The Ebers Papyrus (B.C. 1552) mentions the laying of hands on the head as a part of medical treatment.

French, German, and even English scholars interested themselves to collect passages to the point

from Greek and Latin poets, and these passages almost make it seem that magnetic healing was so commonly practised in ancient days that a detailed or particular description of it was not considered necessary. In Galen, even in Hippocrates, what would now be called "Animal Magnetism" is mentioned; and something very like it finds a place in the speculations both of Plato and Aristotle. I need hardly say that, moreover, the Bible contains many references to cures of a magnetic nature; indeed, it has been asserted, and apparently not in jest, that Animal Magnetism is as old as the human race, for Adam must have been in a magnetic slumber when the Lord performed the very serious operation of the extraction of a rib. I cannot do more here than quote as samples a few of the striking passages found in the writings of Mesmer's more recent anticipators, as quoted by Thouret, Colquhoun, and other writers on Animal Magnetism. It must be remembered that all of the authors quoted were among the leaders of the science and philosophy of their age; and that they did not hesitate to blend the deepest religious feeling with their philosophical and scientific speculations.

Vaninius, in his "Arcana of Nature," says:—

"By a strong imagining, that which is mentally conceived becomes executed in reality; not only within the body, but outside."

Avicenna, another great physician of the fifteenth century, says:—

"The imagination of man can act not only on his own body, but even on other and very distant bodies. It can fascinate and modify them; make them ill, or restore them to health."

Marcus Fienus, a Florentine physician, born in 1433, says :—

"A vapour, or a certain spirit, emitted by the rays of the eyes, or in any other manner, can take effect on a person near you; but you may be sure that the action produced will be so much the more considerable, as the spirit emitted is more abundant, and more animated by the imagination of the heart. It is not to be wondered at that diseases of the mind and of the body should be either communicated or cured in that manner."

Petrus Pomponatius, born in Mantua in 1462, says :—

"The cures daily performed by certain relics of saints are only the effects of the confidence and imagination of the patient; for physicians and philosophers know very well that if instead of the true bones of the saint, the bones of any animal were substituted, the cures would be as readily obtained."

He thinks the influence of "a benevolent soul" is wonderfully health-giving, and that :—

"Some men are specially endowed with eminently curative faculties; the effects produced by their touch are wonderful; but even touch is not always necessary; their glances, their mere intention of doing good, are efficient to the restoration of health. The results, however, are due to natural causes."

He further says :—

"When those who are endowed with this faculty operate by employing the force of imagination and will, this force affects their blood and their spirits, which produce the intended effects by means of an evaporation thrown outwards."

Cornelius Agrippa, born in 1486, says :—

"When the soul is gifted with a powerful imagination, it acquires strength effectual to the causing of health or of disease, not only in its proper body, but also in the bodies of others."

Again he says :—

"Our mind doth effect divers things by faith (which is a firm adhesion, a fixed intention, and a vehement application of the worker or receiver) to him that co-operates in anything, and gives power to the work which we intend to do. So that there is made in us, as it were, the image of the virtue to be received, and the thing to be done in us, or by us. We must, therefore, in

every work and application of things, affect vehemently, imagine, hope, and believe strongly, for that will be a great help."

And again :—

"The philosophers, especially the Arabians, say that man's mind, when it is most intent on any work, through its passions and effects, is joined with the mind of the stars and intelligences : and being so joined, is the cause of some wonderful virtue being infused into our works and things : and this, because there is in the mind an apprehension and power of all things, so all things have a natural obedience to it, and of necessity an efficacy."

Paracelsus, born in 1491, declared that magic ceremonies are useless ; imagination and faith do all. He said :—

"Imagination and faith can cause and remove diseases. Confidence in the virtue of amulets is the whole secret of their efficacy. It is from faith that imagination draws its power. Anyone who believes in the secret resources of Nature receives from Nature according to his own faith ; let the object of your faith be real or imaginary, you will in an equal degree obtain the same results."

Van Helmont was born nearly a century later (1577). He discovered laudanum, ammonia, the volatile salts, and aeriform fluids to which he gave the name of "gas" (as he gave the name of "blas" to a certain immaterial fluid, not at present recognised by Science). He was imprisoned by the Inquisition for having dealings with Satan, but held opinions very like those of Mesmer. He said :—

"Magnetism is a universal agent ; there is nothing new in it but the name. Magnetism is that occult influence which bodies exert over each other at a distance by means of attraction and repulsion."

This "universal agent" Van Helmont called "Magnale Magnum," which, if a "fluid," was certainly not conceived by him as a fluid on this plane of material existence, for he says that it is not a

corporeal substance, capable of being condensed, measured, and weighed; but an ethereal, pure, vital spirit or essence. This vital spirit penetrates all bodies, and in man has its seat in the blood, where it exists as a peculiar energy, which enables him by the mere force of his will and imagination to act at a distance, and to impress a virtue upon a very remote object, or to act upon it; but how this is done Van Helmont says he cannot tell, any more than he can say how the will causes the arm to move. Van Helmont also thought that we can impress upon things the properties which we wish them to have, as agents for the manifestation, or carrying out, of our will. He also says:—

"All magical power lies dormant in man, and requires to be excited. This (need for excitation) is particularly the case if the subject upon whom we wish to operate is not in the most favourable disposition; if his internal imagination does not abandon itself entirely to the impression we wish to make upon him; or if he towards whom the action is directed possesses more energy than he who operates. But when the patient is well-disposed or weak, he readily yields to the magnetic influence of him who operates upon him through the medium of his imagination. In order to operate powerfully, it is necessary to employ some medium; but this medium is nothing unless accompanied by internal action."

In one respect Van Helmont seems to have been in advance of all later magnetisers: he asserted the duality of magnetism, which he says is composed of a vital principle and a "will principle." The former exists "in the flesh and blood of man," the latter belongs to the soul. The phenomena of clairvoyance he attributed to the latter; and he asks a question which has occurred to the minds of some modern hypnotisers who have the courage to speak of the "soul." He asks:—

"What would the soul be after the dissolution of the body, if she had not the faculty of feeling and knowing independently of the senses?"

William Maxwell, a Scotchman, and a contemporary of Van Helmont, held similar ideas. He said:—

"All bodies emit corporeal rays serving as vehicles through which the soul transmits her influence, by communicating to them her energy and power of acting; and these rays are not only corporeal, but they are even composed of various kinds of matter. When the spirit, intimately connected with the properties of one body, communicates with another body, the mutual flux and reflux of the spirits from one body to the other establishes a kind of sympathetic connection, which is not so easily dissolved as when it is the work of the imagination. The universal remedy is no other than the vital spirit strengthened in a suitable subject. According to the primitive design of Nature, every subject receives the exact share of vital spirit necessary for its preservation after its kind; it is, however, possible that Nature, through the exertions of a philosopher, may be made to produce things superior to their own principle. If you wish to work prodigies, abstract from the materiality of beings, increase the sum of spirituality in bodies, rouse the spirit from its slumbers. Unless you do some one or other of these things—unless you can bind the idea, you can never perform anything good or great."

Sebastian Wirdig, a learned and philosophical physician, who belonged to the same generation, said:—

"The whole world exists through magnetism; all sublunary vicissitudes occur through magnetism; life is preserved by magnetism; everything functions by magnetism."

A number of similar passages are to be found in the works of these men; and to these must be added passages from other learned authors of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, bearing more or less directly on the subject.

The scientific men of that day did not think that electricity and magnetism accounted for the Universe, and had not shut out from their minds

the possibility of the existence of other, and perhaps more wonderful forces than those two. Our great scientists, our Kelvins and Crookeses and Lodges, would perhaps regard the writer of the following passage with something akin to contempt, but nevertheless it is from Newton's "Principia":—

"We might add something on the subject of a very subtile spirit which exists in a latent state in solid bodies. It is by the force and the activity of this spirit that the particles of bodies mutually attract each other at short distances and adhere when they come in contact; that light is emitted, reflected, refracted, and inflected: and that heat is communicated to bodies. All sensation is excited, and the limbs of animals moved at will by the vibrations of this spirit, propagated by means of the solid filaments of the nerves of the external organs and of the senses to the brain, and from the brain to the muscles."

Now, two things will at once strike my reader: First, the constant insistence by all these writers on Imagination and Will. Secondly, that none of them hint at any practical means of utilising this "magnetism," to which they attribute such wonderful power. It is evident that when the Royal Commissioners declared that Mesmer's extraordinary phenomena were due to "imagination," they employed that word in a very different sense from that in which those old worthies used it. The name "imagination" has now come to mean merely *fancy*, and it is supposed to be the peculiar characteristic of artists, poets, and romancists; when imagination is attributed to anyone else it is merely a polite way of saying that he is not truthful, or at least is self-deceived. But when used by the old writers, imagination has its proper sense of *image-forming faculty*, and the images thus formed in the mind were by those philosophers credited with an "occult" power which could act

with substantial effect not only on the body of the person who formed the images, but even on the bodies and minds of others, and sometimes actually upon inanimate things. Like will, imagination was considered "one of the powers of the soul"; and just as Maxwell called the will "the hand of the soul," so they might, perhaps, have called the imagination "the brain of the soul." Therefore, when the Royal Commissioners declared that the mesmeric phenomena were due to imagination (or to "imagination, imitation, and touch"), they reported wiser than they knew, if we understand the name "imagination" to mean a power of the soul which, in conjunction with will, constitutes *creative energy*—an attribute of God, in which it used to be believed that man, under certain circumstances, partakes.

With regard to "will," on which all the writers I have just quoted, and others who might be added, laid such stress, they sometimes used the name "will" as synonymous with ardent desire, and sometimes as synonymous with definite determination, as when we say of a person that "he knows what he wants." But the will they speak of, the truly "occult" energy, is a calm, internal power, noiseless and undemonstrative, and a very different thing from the self-assertion, wilfulness, or obstinacy that act by overawing or terrorising others by visible signs suggestive of power, such as a commanding presence, an imperative voice, an overbearing manner, a pretence of knowledge, or an assumption of authority, all of which are theatrical, and may be only "put on"; and which bring into action a force that, although in a measure "occult," belongs to a

different branch of Psycho-physics, a branch not yet understood, rather than incomprehensible.

But it is when we come to practical results that the immeasurable superiority of Mesmer to his predecessors appears. Some of them undoubtedly practised what might with propriety be termed "Animal Magnetism"; and this was particularly the case with Van Helmont, who seems to have used "verbal suggestion" among the plague-stricken inhabitants of Brussels, to whom he devoted himself when the other physicians had run away, and to have even employed "auto-suggestion" to keep himself immune from contagion. But the magnetisers who preceded Mesmer, whether philosophers like Van Helmont, or empirics like Greatrakes, seem to have regarded themselves as the favoured possessors of some rare and special power, and *could not, or, at all events, did not, instruct others in their art.* Mesmer taught the world that the mysterious and beneficent power can be evoked by anyone who strictly follows the rules he gave. He laid the foundation of a new system of treating disease; a system which is still in its infancy, because he himself did not see its full extent, and because its development was for a time arrested by a stupidity of the kind against which "the gods themselves fight in vain." It is because Mesmer put the power of alleviating suffering into the hands of every benevolent person, that we find expressions of gratitude to him in the writings of his pupils and immediate followers. And it is because he gave a new science and art to the world that he is justified in speaking of his "discovery."

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